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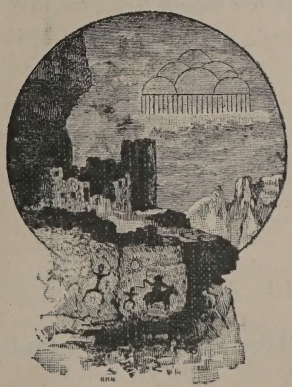
THE

SIOUAN TRIBES OF THE EAST

BY

JAMES MOONEY



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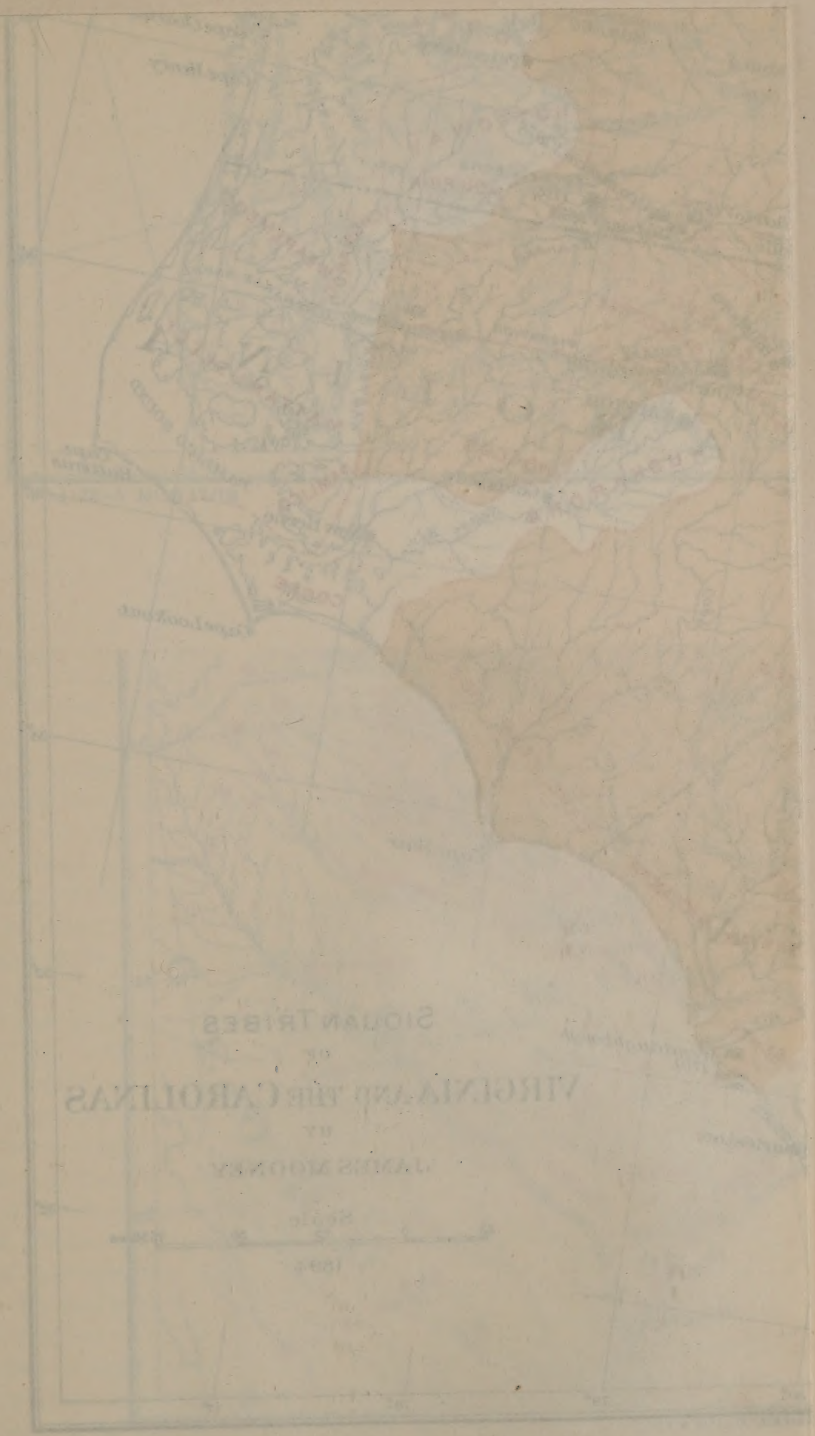

SIOUAN TRIBES
OF
VIRGINIA AND THE CAROLINAS
BY
JAMES MOONEY
Scale
25 0 25 50 75 Miles
1894
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
TENNESSEE
KENTUCKY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
Parkersburg
CHARLESTON
Kanawha R.
Gauley R.
Greenbrier R.
New R.
Blue Ridge Mts.
Alleghany Mts.
Potomac R.
Shenandoah R.
Monongahela R.
Ohio R.
Big Sandy R.
Tug Fork
Cumberland Mts.
Cumberland R.
Cumberland Gap
Tennessee R.
Holston R.
French Broad R.
Asheville
Charlotte
Catawba R.
Broad R.
Pee Dee R.
Yadkin R.
Salisbury
Greensboro
Tuckaseege R.
Dan R.
Roanoke R.
Staunton R.
Shenandoah Valley
Lynchburg
Danville
Tolera Pt. 1671
Sapon (?) 1670
Saponi 1701
Tutelo 1701
Occaneechi 1701
Shakahosa 1701
Eno 1701
Shuchoree 1701
Keyauwee 1701
Waxhaw 1715
Cheraw
Pedee R.
Lumber R.
Waccamaw R.
Black R.
Santee R.
Wateree R.
Congaree R.
Saluda R.
Broad R.
Columbia
Shawano
Savannah R.
Augusta
Savannah Town
Ogeechee R.
Altamaha R.
Ocmulgee R.
Oconee R.
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
Apalachicola R.
Savannah
Ebenezer
Ft. Argyle
Ft. Frederica
Charleston
Beaufort
Port Royal Sd.
Broad R.
Edisto R.
Combahee R.
Ashepoo R.
Coosawhatchie R.
Tuscarora 1701
Meherrin
Nottoway
Chowanoke
Roanoke R.
Albemarle Sound
Pamlico Sound
Neuse R.
Tar R.
Core Sd.
Cape Hatteras
Cape Lookout
Cape Fear
Cape Charles
Cape Henry
Chesapeake Bay
York R.
James R.
Rappahannock R.
Potomac R.
Fredericksburg
Rappahannock 1608
Monacan Town 1608-1670
Richmond
Petersburg
Appomattox R.
Occaneechi 1670
Saponi 1670
Tutelo 1670
Nahyssan 1675
Petersianna 1715
Meherrin 1675
Nottoway 1675
Chowanoke 1675
Roanoke 1675
Tuteloe 1708
Saponi 1708
Occaneechi 1708
Shakori 1708
Eno 1708
Sissipahaw 1708
Keyauwee 1708
Shuchoree 1708
Waxhaw 1715
Cheraw 1715
Pedee 1715
Waccamaw 1715
Sewee 1715
Etiwaw 1715
Wisto 1715
Stono 1715
Cusso 1715
Yamasee 1715
Edisto 1715
Combahee 1715
Ashepoo 1715
Coosawhatchie 1715
Tuscarora 1701
Meherrin
Nottoway
Chowanoke
Roanoke
Mangoak Confederacy
Powhatan Confederacy
Monacan Confederacy
Siouan Confederacy
Catawban Confederacy
Muskhogean Confederacy
Iroquoian Confederacy
Algonkian Confederacy
Shawano
Muskogi
Creek Confederacy
Yuchi
Catawba
Sara
Keyauwee
Eno
Shakori
Occaneechi
Saponi
Tutelo
Monahassanugh
Nahyssan
Manahoac
Monacan
Powhatan
Mangoak
Nottoway
Meherrin
Chowanoke
Roanoke
Tuscarora
Core
Mattamuskeet
Pamlico
Machapunga
Woccon
Waxhaw
Cheraw
Pedee
Waccamaw
Sewee
Etiwaw
Wisto
Stono
Cusso
Yamasee
Edisto
Combahee
Ashepoo
Coosawhatchie
Saluda
Watteree
Congaree
Wateree
Keyauwee
Shuchoree
Sissipahaw
Occaneechi
Shakori
Eno

THE SIOUAN TRIBES OF THE EAST

By JAMES MOONEY

"'Tis good to muse on nations passed away."

INTRODUCTION.

THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC STOCKS.

When the French and English established their first permanent settlement in America they found the whole country in possession of numerous aboriginal tribes, some large and powerful, others restricted to a single village and its environs. The variety of languages and dialects at first appeared to be well-nigh infinite; but on further acquaintance it was discovered that these were easily reducible to a few primary stocks.

Excluding the Eskimo along the northern coast, the first great group comprised the tribes of the Algonquian stock, whose territory on a linguistic map appears like a large triangle, extending on the north from the Atlantic to the Rocky mountains, but gradually narrowing southward until it dwindles to a mere coast strip in Virginia and North Carolina, and finally ends about the mouth of Neuse river.

The territory of the next great group, comprising the tribes of the Iroquoian stock, either lay within or bordered on the Algonquian area. Around Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and stretching to a considerable distance inland on either side, were the Iroquois proper, the Huron or Wyandot, and several other closely connected tribes; on the lower Susquehanna were the Conestoga or Susquehanna and their allies; on Nottoway and Meherrin rivers, in Virginia, were tribes bearing the names of those streams, and on the lower Neuse, in North Carolina, were the Tuskarora; while on the southwest, in the fastnesses of the southern Alleghanies, were the Cherokee, whose territory extended far into the gulf states. Although the territories held by the several Iroquoian tribes were not all contiguous, the languages, with the exception of that of the Cherokee, which presents marked differences, are so closely related as to indicate a comparatively recent separation.

The country southwest of the Savannah was held chiefly by tribes of the Muskhogean stock, occupying the greater portion of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, with parts of Tennessee and Florida.

West of all these tribes was the territory of the great Siouan or Dakotan stock, extending in a general way from the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains and from the Saskatchewan to the Arkansas. With the tribes farther westward and southward the present paper is not concerned.

Most of these tribes had fixed locations in permanent villages, surrounded by extensive cornfields. They were primarily agriculturists or fishermen, to whom hunting was hardly more than a pastime, and who followed the chase as a serious business only in the interval between the gathering of one crop and the planting of the next. The Siouan tribes, on the contrary, although generally cultivating the ground to a limited extent, were essentially a race of hunters, following the game—especially the buffalo—from one district to another, here today and away tomorrow. Their introduction to the horse on the prairies of the west probably served only to give wider opportunity for the indulgence of an inborn roving disposition. Nomads have short histories, and as they seldom stopped long enough in one place to become identified with it, little importance was attached to their wanderings and as little was recorded concerning them.

The position of the Algonquian and Iroquoian tribes, as the native proprietors of an immense territory claimed by two great rival European nations, rendered their friendship a matter of prime concern throughout the colonial period; and each party put forth strenuous efforts to secure their alliance against the other. As a principal means to this end, numerous missionaries were sent among them, especially by the French, to learn their languages, become familiar with their habits of living and modes of thought, and afterward to write down the facts thus gathered. There were besides among the early settlers of New England and the northern states generally a number of men of literary bent who made the Indians a subject of study, and the result is a vast body of literature on the northern tribes, covering almost every important detail of their language, habits, and history. In the south the case was otherwise. The tribes between the mountains and the sea were of but small importance politically; no sustained mission work was ever attempted among them, and there were but few literary men to take an interest in them. War, pestilence, whisky and systematic slave hunts had nearly exterminated the aboriginal occupants of the Carolinas before anybody had thought them of sufficient importance to ask who they were, how they lived, or what were their beliefs and opinions.

The region concerning which least has been known ethnologically is that extending from the Potomac to the Savannah and from the mountains to the sea, comprising most of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Of some of the tribes formerly within this area the linguistic connection has long been settled; of some others it is a matter of recent discovery; of others again it is still a matter of doubt; while

some must forever remain unclassified, for the tribes have perished from the earth without leaving a word of their languages behind.

The Indians occupying the coast of Virginia, and extending as far inland as the geologic structure line marked by the falls of the principal streams, formed the Powhatan confederacy, belonging to the Algonquian stock. Adjoining them on the south were another Algonquian people, known to Raleigh's colonists of 1585 as the Weapemeoc, and at a later date as Yeopim (*Weapeme-oc*), Perquiman, Pasquotank, and Poteskeet, occupying that portion of North Carolina north of Albemarle sound and extending as far westward as Edenton; between Albemarle sound and Pamlico river and on the outlying islands were the Secotan of Raleigh's time, known afterward as Mattamuskeet, Machapunga and Hatteras Indians; while the Pamlico country, between Pamlico and the estuary of Neuse river, was held by the Pamlico or Pamticough, together with the Bear River Indians, the Pomouik or Pamawaioc of Raleigh's colonists; all these people being Algonquian. The tribes here classed as Algonquian are known to have been such from the vocabularies and isolated words of their languages given by Smith, Strachey, Lawson, and others, and from the numerous local names which they have left behind in the territory they once occupied. The Neusiok, who in 1585 lived just south of the Neuse estuary, in the extreme eastern parts of Craven and Carteret counties, in North Carolina, and who were in alliance with the Pamlico, may also have been Algonquian, this bringing the southern limit of that stock along the coast almost to Cape Lookout. The Chowanoc or Chowan, on Chowan river—chiefly on the eastern bank, contiguous to the Weapemeoc—seem also to have belonged to the same stock, judging from the half dozen names preserved by Lane.

The Iroquoian stock was represented by at least four tribes, three of which are known from vocabularies and other linguistic material. First came the Nottoway on Nottoway and Blackwater rivers in southeastern Virginia, contiguous on the north and east to the Powhatan confederacy and on the south to the Chowanoc. The name Nottoway, by which they were commonly known, signifies "snakes" or "enemies," and was given by their neighbors, the Powhatan, being one of the generic names used by the Algonquian tribes to denote any of a different stock. Mangoac, the name by which they were known to the tribes on the sound, is another generic term used by the Algonquian tribes to designate those of Iroquoian stock, and signifies "stealthy ones." In the north it was commonly written Mingo or Mengwe. They called themselves Chiroe^{n}haka, a word of uncertain etymology. The fact that neither of these generic terms was ever applied to the Chowanoc is evidence that they belonged to the common Algonquian stock. Adjoining the Nottoway, and in close alliance with them, were the Meherrin, on the lower course of the river of the same name. They were a remnant of the Susquehanna or Conestoga, who had

fled from the north on the disruption of that tribe, about 1675. On the lower Neuse and its tributaries, the Contentnea and the Trent, and extending up about as far as the present site of Raleigh, were the Tuskarora, the most important tribe of North Carolina east of the mountains. Before they rose against the whites in 1711 they were estimated at 1,200 warriors, or perhaps 5,000 souls, but their terrible losses in the ensuing war, amounting to 400 in one battle and 1,000 in another, completely broke their power. The remnant of the hostiles abandoned their country and fled to their kindred, the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York, by whom they were incorporated as a sixth nation. Those who had kept the peace were removed in 1717 to a reservation on the northern bank of Roanoke river in the present Bertie county, North Carolina, so that the tribe was completely extirpated from its original territory. From here they gradually removed in small parties to join their kindred in the north, and in 1790 there remained only about 60 souls on their lands in Bertie county, and these also finally withdrew a few years later. The fourth Iroquoian tribe was the powerful Cherokee nation, occupying all of North Carolina and Virginia west of the Blue ridge, as far north at least, according to their tradition, as the Peaks of Otter, near the headwaters of James river, together with the upper portion of South Carolina and the mountain section of Georgia and Tennessee. The Coree, on the coast lands south of the Neuse, also may have been a tribe of the same stock.

Farther southward were the Catawba, who had their settlements about the river of the same name, just below the border line between North Carolina and South Carolina, ranging upward to the hunting grounds of the Cherokee, their inveterate enemies. When first known they were estimated at 1,500 fighting men, or at least 6,000 souls, but so rapid was their decline that in 1743, according to Adair, they were reduced to less than 400 warriors, and among these were included the broken remnants of more than twenty smaller tribes, which had taken refuge with their more powerful neighbors, but still retained their distinct dialects. Adair enumerates several of these incorporated tribes, but the mere fact of such an alliance proves nothing as to linguistic affinities. A few Catawba still remain on a reservation in South Carolina, and recent investigation among them has proved conclusively that they are of Siouan stock. Closely related to them linguistically were the Woccon, occupying a small territory in the fork of Neuse and Contentnea rivers, in and adjoining the more numerous Tuskarora. Although at one time a considerable tribe, they seem to have disappeared suddenly and completely soon after the Tuskarora war. If not absorbed by the Tuskarora they probably removed to the south and were incorporated with the Catawba.

Turning now from the tribes whose affinities are thus well known, it will be found, by referring to the map, that we have still to account for a large central area. In Virginia this territory includes all west

of a line drawn through Richmond and Fredericksburg, up to the Blue ridge, or about one-half the area of the state. In North Carolina it includes the basins of the Roanoke, the Tar, the Cape Fear, the Yadkin, and the upper Catawba rivers, comprising more than two-thirds of the area of that state. In South Carolina it comprises nearly the whole central and eastern portion. In the three states the territory in question comprises an area of about 70,000 square miles, formerly occupied by about forty different tribes.

Who were the Indians of this central area? For a long time the question was ignored by ethnologists, and it was implicitly assumed that they were like their neighbors, Iroquoian or Algonquian in the north and "Catawban" in the south. It was never hinted that they might be anything different, and still less was it suppossed that they would prove to be a part of the great Siouan or Dakotan family, whose nearest known representatives were beyond the Mississippi or about the upper lakes, nearly a thousand miles away. Yet the fact is now established that some at least of those tribes, and these the most important, were of that race of hunters, while the apparently older dialectic forms to be met with in the east, the identification of the Biloxi near Mobile as a part of the same stock, and the concurrent testimony of the Siouan tribes themselves to the effect that they had come from the east, all now render it extremely probable that the original home of the Siouan race was not on the prairies of the west but amidst the eastern foothills of the southern Alleghanies, or at least as far eastward as the upper Ohio region. Some years ago the author's investigations led him to suspect that such might yet prove to be the case, and in a paper on the Indian tribes of the District of Columbia, read before the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1889 (Mooney, 1) he expressed this opinion.

SIOUAN MIGRATIONS AND IROQUOIS CONQUESTS.

Horatio Hale, to whom belongs the credit of first discovering a Siouan language on the Atlantic coast, noted the evidences that the Tutelo language was older in its forms than the cognate dialects of the west, and predicted that if this should prove true it would argue against the supposition, which at first seemed natural, that the eastern Siouan tribes were merely offshoots from a western parent stock. Investigation might result in showing that the western Siouan, like the western Algonquian tribes, had their original home in the east. The inference that the region west of the Mississippi was the original home of Siouan tribes, and that those of that stock who dwelt on the Ohio or east of the Alleghanies were emigrants from the western prairies did not, by any means, follow from the fact that the majority of these tribes were now dwellers on the plains, as by the same course of reasoning we might conclude that the Aryan had their original seat in western Europe, that the

Portuguese were emigrants from Brazil, or that the English derived their origin from America (Hale, 1).

As early as 1701 Gravier stated that the Ohio was known to the Miami and Illinois as the "river of the Akansea" because that people had formerly lived along it. The Akansea (Arkansa or Kwapa) are a Siouan tribe, living at that time on the lower Arkansas river, but now in Indian Territory. More than sixty years ago Major Sibley, one of the best authorities of that period in regard to the western tribes, obtained from an aged chief of the Osage—a well known Siouan tribe, speaking the same language as the Kwapa—a statement which confirms that of Gravier. The chief said that the tradition had been steadily handed down from their ancestors that the Osage had originally emigrated from the east, because the population had become too numerous for their hunting grounds. He described the forks of Alleghany and Monongahela rivers and the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, where he said they had dwelt some time, and where large bands had separated from them and distributed themselves throughout the surrounding country. Those who did not remain in the region of the Ohio followed its waters until they reached the mouth, and then ascended to the mouth of the Missouri, where other separations took place, some going northward up the Mississippi, others advancing up the waters of the Missouri. He enumerated several tribes which had sprung from this original migrating body (Featherstonhaugh, 1). Catlin heard a similar story among the Mandan, another Siouan people living far up the Missouri (Catlin, 1), and Dorsey has since found the tradition to be common to almost all the tribes of that stock (Dorsey, Migrations, and Kansas). Indeed, two of these tribes, the Omaha and the Kansa, cherish sacred shells which they assert were brought with them from the great water of the sunrise.

When this western movement took place we can only approximately conjecture. Like most Indian migrations it was probably a slow and devious progress with no definite objective point in view, interrupted whenever a particularly fine hunting region was discovered, or as often as it became necessary to fight some tribe in front, and resembling rather the tedious wanderings of the Hebrews in the desert than the steady march of an emigrant train across the plains. De Soto found the "Capaha" or Kwapa already established on the western bank of the Mississippi in 1541, although still a considerable distance above their later position at the mouth of the Arkansas. The name Kwapa, properly Ugáqpa, signifies people living "down the river," being the converse of Omaha, properly Uma^{n}/ha^{n}, which designates those going "up the river" (Dorsey), and the occurrence of the name thus early shows that other tribes of the same stock were already seated farther up the river. The absence of Siouan names along De Soto's route in the interior country held later by the Osage is significant, in view of the fact that we at once recognize as Muskhogean a number of the

names which occur in the narrative of his progress through the gulf states. The inference would be that the Muskhogean tribes were already established in the southern region, where we have always known them, before the Siouan tribes had fairly left the Mississippi. In accordance with Osage tradition the emigrant tribes, after crossing the mountains, probably followed down the valleys of New river and the Big Sandy to the Ohio, descended the latter to its mouth and there separated, a part going up the Mississippi and Missouri, the others continuing their course southward and southwestward. In their slow march toward the setting sun the Kwapa probably brought up the rear, as their name lingered longest in the traditions of the Ohio tribes, and they were yet in the vicinity of that stream when encountered by De Soto.

The theory of a Siouan migration down the valley of the Big Sandy is borne out by the fact that this stream was formerly known as the Totteroy, a corruption of the Iroquois name for the Tutelo and other Siouan tribes in the south.

As to the causes of this prehistoric exodus, it is impossible to speak positively. Hale assumes that the Siouan tribes followed the buffalo as it gradually receded westward, but this position is untenable. As just shown, some of these tribes were beyond the Mississippi at least 350 years ago, while the disappearance of the buffalo from the east was not accomplished until within the present century. The savage on foot, and armed only with bow and arrows, could never exterminate the game over any large area. It required the gun, the horse, and the railroad of civilization to effect the wholesale slaughter that has swept from the face of the earth one of the noblest of American quadrupeds. There is abundant testimony to the fact that buffalo were numerous in the piedmont region of Virginia and Carolina at least as late as 1730, and in Ohio valley and Tennessee until after the close of the French and Indian war, and did not finally disappear from this central basin until 1810. We must seek other reasons than the disappearance of the game from what was all a wilderness, keeping in mind at the same time the inherent unrest of savages and especially of the Siouan tribes. The most probable cause of this great exodus was the pressure from the north and from the south of hostile tribes of alien lineage, leaving to the weaker Siouan tribes no alternative but to flee or to remain and be crushed between the millstones. They chose to abandon the country and retreated across the mountains, the only direction in which a retreat was open to them.

The Muskhogean tribes all claim to have come into the gulf states from beyond the Mississippi, and the tradition is clearest among those of them—the Choctaw and Chickasaw—who may be supposed to have crossed last. (Adair, 1; Gatschet, Legend, 1; see also, Bartram, Travels, and Hawkins, Sketch of the Creek Country.) As they advanced they came at last into collision with the Timuquanan and Uchean tribes of Florida and Georgia, and then began the long struggle, which ended

only with the destruction of the Timukua and the incorporation by the Creek, within the historic period, of the last of the Uchi, leaving the Muskhogean race supreme from Florida cape to the Combahee river in South Carolina. This wave of invasion must necessarily have had its effect on the Carolina tribes toward the north. The Yamasi of South Carolina were of Muskhogean stock, and seem to have driven out a preceding tribe of the Uchean race.

It is useless to theorize on prehistoric migrations beyond the period of coherent tradition. Within this period traditional and historical evidence point out as the cradle of the Algonquian race the coast region lying between Saint Lawrence river and Chesapeake bay. The tribes occupying this central position—the Abnaki, the Mohegan, the Lenape, and the Nanticoke—regarded themselves as constituting one people, and were conceded by the others to be the "grandfathers," or progenitors, of the stock. From here, as their numbers increased, they sent colonies northward along the coast, driving back the Eskimo, and probably the Beothuk, westward and northwestward up the valley of the Saint Lawrence and the lakes, and southward to occupy the coast of Virginia and a part of Carolina, where, in conjunction with the Iroquoian tribes, they expelled the Cherokee from the upper waters of the Ohio and compelled them to take refuge in the mountain fastnesses on the south. Most of these movements, although the subject of well-supported tradition, belong to prehistoric times, but the advance of the Algonquian tribes into the northwest is comparatively modern. Since the introduction of firearms, within the last two centuries, the Ojibwa have driven the Sioux and Minitari from central Wisconsin and Lake Superior to beyond the Mississippi, while the Cree have swept the whole country from Winnipeg to Great Slave lake, and the Blackfeet, Cheyenne, and Arapaho have moved out from the Saskatchewan and Red river and occupied the plains.

But the great agents in the expulsion or extermination of the eastern Siouan tribes were the confederate Iroquois of New York. With these may be included the Tuskarora, who, though established on the Neuse river in North Carolina, retained the clear tradition of their common origin and were regarded as an outlying tribe of the confederacy with which they afterward united as an integral part. From the very first we find these pitiless destroyers making war on everything outside the narrow limits of their confederacy, pursuing their victims on the one hand to the very gates of Boston and on the other to the banks of the Mississippi, and making their name a synonym for death and destruction from Hudson bay to the Gulf of Mexico. Community of blood or affinity of language availed not to turn aside their fury, and the kindred Huron, Erie, and Conestoga suffered alike with the Ottawa and the Illinois. When their warfare against the southern tribes was inaugurated we do not know. It was probably continuous with the expulsion of the Cherokee from the upper Ohio, and was in full

progress nearly three centuries ago. As early as 1608 John Smith found the Iroquois, known to the Powhatan tribes as Massawomek, regarded as "their most mortall enemies" by all the tribes of Virginia and Maryland. The Susquehanna ("Sasquesahanock") or Conestoga at the head of the bay, who had nearly six hundred warriors, all "great and well-proportioned men," he found "pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes their mortall enemies" (Smith, 1). Sixty-five years later these giant-like men, notwithstanding their palisaded defenses, were forced to abandon their country to the conquering Iroquois and come down upon the frontiers of Virginia, thus precipitating the Indian war which resulted in Bacon's rebellion. On the upper Rappahannock he was told that the Massawomeke made war with all the world, and he states that all the tribes of the interior "are continually tormented by them: of whose cruelties they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me and my company to free them from those tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continual subjection" (Smith, 2).

In 1701 John Lawson, the surveyor-general of Carolina, made a circuitous journey through the interior from Charleston to Pamlico sound, and on every hand, alike from Indians and traders, he heard stories of the ruin wrought by the "Sinnagers" (Seneca, i. e. Iroquois), who, having completed the conquest or extermination of all the tribes which had formerly withstood their power in the north, were now at liberty to turn the full current of their hatred upon the weaker ones of the south. Even on the border of South Carolina he was shown the grave piles erected over the bodies of their victims. He found the larger tribes living in forts and obliged to keep continual spies and outguards on the lookout for better security, while smaller tribes—the Saponi, Tutelo, and others of Siouan stock—were consolidating and withdrawing to the protection of the English settlements. He described the Iroquois as "A sort of people that range several thousands of miles, making all prey they lay their hands on. These are feared by all the savage nations I ever was among" (Lawson, 1)—a striking confirmation of the statement given to Smith seventy years before, that they made war with all the world. Byrd, about 1730, says that the northern Indians were the implacable enemies of these Siouan tribes, and that the frequent inroads of the Seneca had compelled the Sara to abandon their beautiful home on the banks of the Dan and take refuge on the Pedee (Byrd, 2). On one occasion the Iroquois themselves asserted that these southern Indians had been for a long time their enemies, and that they (the Iroquois) formerly had been so exasperated against them that they had taken them prisoners even out of the houses of the Christians (New York, 1). When at last, in 1722, at the urgent solicitation of the colonial government, they consented to cease their attacks upon the miserable remnant gathered under the guns of Fort Christianna, they declared that they had cherished toward these people "so

inveterate an enmity that it could be extinguished only by their total extirpation" (New York, 2). On the same subject, Byrd said, in 1728: "And now I mention the northern Indians, it may not be improper to take notice of their implacable hatred to those of the south. Their wars are everlasting, without any peace, enmity being the only inheritance among them that descends from father to son, and either party will march a thousand miles to take their revenge upon such hereditary enemies" (Byrd, 2). The great overmastering fact in the history of the Siouan tribes of the east is that of their destruction by the Iroquois.

The various tribes and confederacies which made up this eastern Siouan group, or were intimately connected with it, will be treated separately. The description of each tribe will be preceded by a synonymy, giving the various names known to have been applied to it. The Biloxi, whose isolated position has given them a separate history, will first be described, and more closely aggregated tribes and confederacies will then receive attention.

THE BILOXI.

Synonymy.

Ananis (for Anaxis?).—Document of 1699 in French, Louisiana, 1875, p. 99.
Annocchy.—Document of 1699 in Margry, Découvertes, vol. iv, 1880, p. 172.
Baluxa.—Brown, Western Gazetteer, 1817, p. 133.
Beloxi.—Porter (1829) in Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, 1853, vol. iii, p. 596.
Beluxis.—Document of 1764 in New York Doc. Col. Hist., 1856, vol. vii, p. 641.
Bilexes.—Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana, 1806, p. 97.
Billoxis.—Butel-Dumont, Louisiana, 1753, vol. i, p. 134.
Bilocchy.—De l'Isle map, 1700.
Biloccis.—Robin, Voyage a la Louisiane, 1807, vol. ii, p. 54.
Biloui.—Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana, 1806, p. 91, note (misprint).
Biloxis.—Penicaut (1699) in French, Louisiana, n. s., 1869, p. 38.
Bilusi.—Michler in Report of Secretary of War, 1850, p. 32.
B'luksi.—Mooney, MS., 1886 ("Trifling, worthless;" Choctaw name).
Binukhsh.—Gatschet, Caddo and Yatassi MS., 1885 (Caddo name).
Bolixies.—Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, 1854, vol. iv, p. 561.
Boluxas.—Sibley (1805) in Lewis and Clark, Discovery, 1806, p. 94.
Paluxsies.—Parker, Texas, 1856, p. 221.
Poluksalgi.—Gatschet, Creek MS. (Creek name, plural form).
Poutoucsis (for Pouloucsis?).—Berquin-Duvallon, Travels in Louisiana, 1806, p. 94.
Taneks or *Tanks.*—Gatschet, Biloxi MS., 1886. (Name used by themselves; Taneks haya, the Biloxi people.)

Inspection of the various names which have been applied to this tribe suggests that they are all derivatives from Taneks, the name by which the Biloxi call themselves. The interchangeability of the liquids *l*, *n*, and *r* in different dialects is a well-known linguistic fact, while the substitution of a labial for a dental or a compound labial-dental is of frequent occurrence in the Siouan languages. As examples, Dorsey mentions *mda* or *bla* and *mdu* or *blu*, pronominal particles in Dakota, which become *hata* or *hatu* in Oto, and *ta* or *tu* in Winne-

bago. *Mde* or *bde*, the Dakota word for *lake*, is a good example of a compound sound which to an alien people might appear a simple labial or dental. The name B'luksi or Biloxi, signifying "trifling or worthless" in the language of the Choctaw, may have been given them by that tribe on account of its resemblance to the proper name, in accordance with a common habit among Indian tribes of substituting for a tribal name of unknown meaning some translatable name of similar sound from their own language, especially when, as in this case, the latter term has a derogatory or sarcastic import. The people themselves, like a hundred other tribes, can not explain the meaning of their name. Dorsey thinks the word is connected with the Siouan root *changa* or *hanga*, signifying "first," "foremost," "original," "ancestral," an idea embodied in many tribal names, the assumption of antiquity being always flattering to national pride. Thus the Winnebago call themselves Ho-changa-ra, "the people speaking the original language." In Biloxi we find tanek-ya signifying "the first time" (Gatschet), and Taneks haya, or Biloxi people, would thus mean "the first people." Dorsey suggests that the old French form of 1699, Anani, may be from anyadi, or haryadi, another word for "people" in their own language.

The Biloxi were first noted by Iberville, who found them in 1699 living about Biloxi bay on the coast of Mississippi, in connection with two other small tribes, the Paskagula and Moctobi, the three together numbering only about twenty cabins (Margry, 1). It is evident that they were even then but remnants of former larger tribes, which, having been reduced by war, pestilence, or other calamities, had been compelled to consolidate and take refuge with the powerful Choctaw, who claimed all the surrounding country. At a later period the Biloxi removed northwestward to Pearl river (Jefferys, 1), and thence crossed the Mississippi into Louisiana, probably about 1763, settling on Red river and Avoyelles lake near the present Marksville (Am. S. P., 1); they were mentioned in a list of southern tribes in 1764 (New York, 3). In 1784 they and the Paskagula, who still lived near them, were estimated together at thirty warriors, or probably about a hundred souls (Imlay, 1). In 1806 they had two villages, one at Avoyelles on Red river and the other on the lake, and wandered up and down the bayous on the southern side of the stream (Berquin-Duvallon, 1). In 1829 they were reported to number 65, living with Caddo, Paskagula, and other small tribes about Red river and the frontier of Texas (Schoolcraft, 1). About the same time Mexican authorities report them as numbering twenty families, on the eastern bank of the Neches in Texas. After this no more was heard of them until recently.

From the fact that the Biloxi were known in history only as a tribe subordinate to the Choctaw, it was very naturally supposed that they were of the same linguistic connection, more especially as most of the region of the gulf states was held by tribes of Muskhogean stock. Sibley, in 1805, stated that they spoke the general trade language

known as Mobilian—a corrupt Choctaw—but had a distinct language of their own, without, however, giving any hint as to what that language might be (Am. S. P., 2). It remained for Gatschet to prove that the Biloxi are the remnant of an isolated Siouan tribe. In 1886, while pursuing some linguistic researches in the southwest, in the interest of the Bureau of Ethnology, Mr Gatschet came across a small band of Biloxi still living near Lamourie bridge on Bayou Bœuf, in Rapides parish, Louisiana, sixteen miles south of Alexandria. They numbered only 25 all told, including several mixed bloods, and hardly half a dozen were able to speak the language fluently; but from these he obtained a vocabulary which established their Siouan affinity beyond a doubt. Although on the verge of extinction, poor, miserable, and debilitated from their malarial surroundings, they yet retained all the old pride of race, insisting on being called Taneks, and refusing to be known as Biloxi.

Following up this discovery, Dorsey, the specialist in the Siouan tribes, visited the Biloxi of Louisiana in 1892 and again in 1893, and has succeeded in collecting from this small remnant a valuable body of linguistic and myth material. A synopsis of the results obtained appears in his paper on the Biloxi, published in 1893 in the proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He states that in 1892 the only survivors of the tribe remaining in Louisiana were about a dozen individuals living near Lecompte, in Rapides parish. One of his informants said, however, that toward the close of the civil war, or about 1865, a large party of Biloxi and Paskagula removed to a place in Texas which he called "Comishy." This is, doubtless, Kiamishi river, a northern tributary of Red river, in the Choctaw nation, and an old settlement nucleus for Choctaw, Caddo, and other emigrant tribes from Louisiana. From personal inquiry among the Caddo, Creek, and Choctaw, I am led to believe that these Biloxi are now with the mixed band of Alabama, Coasati, and Muskogee living near Livingston, in Polk county, Texas, and in a smaller settlement nearer Houston. There are none now in the Choctaw nation or among the Caddo in Oklahoma, but one or two individuals are said to be living near Okmulgee, in the Creek nation. All three of these tribes are perfectly familiar with the name.

Their former neighbors, the Choctaw, say that the Biloxi were originally cannibals. The statement must be taken with some allowance, however, as the charge of cannibalism was the one most frequently made by Indians against those of an alien or hostile tribe. From information obtained by Mr Dorsey it appears that the Biloxi formerly dressed in the general style of other eastern tribes, and that tattooing was sometimes practiced among them. They made wooden bowls, horn and bone implements, baskets, and pottery. They still remember the names of three gentes, the deer, grizzly bear (?), and alligator, and probably had others in former times. Descent, as usual, was in the

female line, and there was a most elaborate kinship system (Dorsey, Biloxi). Their mythology, as noted by Dorsey, has evidently been much affected by contact with the whites. They venerate the thunder (personage) and will talk about it only in clear weather. They will not kill or eat the snipe, because it is the sister of the thunder. They also respect the humming bird, because, as they say, it always speaks the truth. They believe that the slain deer is resurrected three times, but that if killed the fourth time the spirit leaves the body forever. The same belief is held by the Cherokee. Their dwellings were of two kinds, the low wigwam of the eastern tribes and the high pointed tipi of the more nomadic western Indians (Dorsey, Biloxi).

Our latest information concerning the Biloxi of Louisiana is contained in a letter received by Mr Dorsey in February of this year (1894), in which it is stated that the handful of survivors were then preparing to remove farther westward, presumably to the Choctaw nation, where all stragglers from the Louisiana tribes find a welcome.

THE PASKAGULA, MOCTOBI, AND CHOZETTA.

Synonymy.

Pascagoula.—Common geographic form.
Pascoboula.—Iberville (1699) in Margry, Découvertes, vol. iv, p. 195 (misprint).
Paskagula.—"Bread people;" correct Choctaw form.
Paskaguna.—Mooney; Caddo form.

Moctoby.—Iberville (1699) in Margry, op. cit., p. 195.

Chozettas.—Iberville (1699) in Margry, op. cit., p. 154.

The Paskagula and Moctobi tribes are mentioned by Iberville (Margry, 2) in 1699 as living on Pascagoula river near the coast of Mississippi, associated with the Biloxi, each of the three tribes, although but few in numbers, having its own village. As the French settlement on Biloxi bay was made in that year, this date probably marks the beginning of their displacement and removal westward. We know nothing of their language, but from their intimate connection then and afterward with the Biloxi, it is very possible that they were cognate. The name of the Moctobi seems to have disappeared from the earth, as repeated personal inquiry among the Choctaw and Caddo has failed to elicit any knowledge of such a tribe. It is quite probable that the form given in Margry is a misprint or other corruption, as we find the misprint form, Pascoboula, in the same reference.

The Paskagula are better remembered. The name is not their own, but was given to them by the Choctaw, and signifies "bread people," from *paska* "bread" and *okla* "people." It has been retained as the name of the river in Mississippi on which they formerly had their village. I found the name of this tribe still familiar to the Choctaw and Caddo, the latter of whom, having no *l* in their language, pronounce the

word "Paskaguna." There are none now among either of these tribes, but the Caddo have a distinct recollection of them as neighbors when they lived lower down on Red river in Texas and Louisiana. In 1784, eighty-five years after their mention by Iberville, we find them in Louisiana, still living with the Biloxi (Imlay, 2). In 1829 they were mentioned as living in connection with the Biloxi and Caddo on Red river, about on the eastern border of Texas. They were then reported to number 111, while the Biloxi were reported at only 65, which, if correct, would show that sixty years ago the Paskagula were the more important of the two (Schoolcraft, 2). They can hardly have become extinct within so short a period, and it is probable that they, as well as the Biloxi, still exist among the Alabama and other small tribes already referred to as now living in eastern Texas, where enough of their language may yet be obtained to settle their linguistic affinity.

The Chozetta, mentioned in 1699 as living on Pascagoula river in connection with the Paskagula, Biloxi, and Moctobi (Margry, 3), may also have been of Siouan stock.

THE MANAHOAC CONFEDERACY.

Synonymy.

1. *Mahoc.*—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 2 (same?).
   Mahock.—Ibid., p. 10 (same?).
   Managog.—Ibid., p. 2 (misprint).
   Manahoacs.—Jefferson (1781), Notes on Virginia, 1794, p. 134.
   Manahocks.—Smith (1629), Virginia, reprint of 1819, vol. i, p. 188.
   Mannahannocks.—Kingsley, Standard Natural Library, 1883, part 6, p. 151 (misprint).
   Mannahoacks.—Smith, Virginia, 1819, op. cit., vol. i, p. 134.
   Mannahocks.—Ibid., p. 186.
   Mannahokes.—Ibid., p. 120.

2. *Stegara.*—Smith, Virginia, vol. i, map.
   Stegarakes.—Ibid., p. 134.
   Stegarakies.—Jefferson, op. cit., p. 134.
   Stegora.—Smith, op. cit., p. 186.
   Stenkenoaks.—Hale in Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., 1883–'84, vol. xxi, p. 7.
   Stenkenocks.—Albany Conference (1722) in New York Colonial Documents, 1855, vol. v, p. 673 (misprint).
   Steukenhocks.—Byrd (1728), History of the Dividing Line, 1866, vol. i, p. 188.
   Stukarocks.—Spotswood (1711), in Burk, Virginia, 1805, vol. iii, p. 89.

3. *Shackaconias.*—Smith, op. cit., p. 134.
   Shackakonies.—Jefferson, op. cit., p. 134.
   Shakahonea.—Smith, op. cit., p. 186 (misprint).

4. *Tanxsnitania.*—Smith, Virginia, vol. i, map.
   Tauxanias.—Ibid., p. 134.
   Tauxitanians.—Jefferson, op. cit., p. 134.
   Tauxsintania.—Smith, op. cit., p. 187.
   Tauxuntania.—Ibid., p. 186.

5. *Ontponeas.*—Ibid., p. 134.
   Ontponies.—Jefferson, op. cit., p. 134.

6. *Tegninaties.*—Ibid., p. 134.
   Tigninateos.—Smith, op. cit., p. 134.
7. *Whonkenteaes.*—Smith, op. cit., p. 134.
   Whonkenties.—Jefferson, op. cit., p. 134.
8. *Hasinninga.*—Smith, op. cit., p. 186.
   Hassinuga.—Smith, op. cit., map.
   Hassinungaes.—Smith, op. cit., p. 134.

The Manahoac confederacy of Virginia consisted of perhaps a dozen tribes, of which the names of eight have been preserved. With the exception of the Stegarake, all that is known of these tribes was recorded by Smith, whose own acquaintance with them seems to have been limited to an encounter with a large hunting party in 1608. Smith, however, was a man who knew how to improve an opportunity; and having had the good fortune to make one of them a prisoner he managed to get from him a very fair idea of the tribes and territories of the confederacy, their alliances and warfares, their manner of living, and their cosmogony, and succeeded, before his departure, in arranging a precarious peace between them and their hereditary enemies, the Powhatan confederacy.

The Manahoac tribes occupied the upper waters of the Rappahannock above the falls near Fredericksburg. In this territory, comprising northern Virginia between tide water and the Blue ridge, the allied bands wandered about without any fixed location. Jefferson's attempt at locating them by counties is evidently based on Smith's map, which, however, as regards this region, is only intended to be a rough approximation, as Smith did not penetrate far beyond the falls. Smith tells us in one place that they lived at the head of the river, among the mountains; and in another place (Smith, 3) he gives more detailed information:

> Vpon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributers the Tauxanias, the Shackaconias, the Ontponeas, the Tigninateos, the Whonkenteaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinungaes, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of the wild beasts and fruits.

The history of the Manahoac begins in 1608, and as usual the first encounter was a hostile one. In August of that year Captain Smith, with 12 men and an Indian guide, ascended the Rappahannock, touching at the Indian villages along its banks, and having gone as far as was possible in the boat they landed, probably about the present site of Fredericksburg, to set up crosses and cut their names on the trees in token of possession. This done, they scattered to examine the country, when one of the men suddenly noticed an arrow fall on the ground near him, and looking up they saw "about an hundred nimble Indians skipping from tree to tree, letting fly their arrowes so fast as they could" (Smith, 4). Hastily getting behind trees, the whites met the attack, being greatly aided by their Indian guide, who jumped about in such lively fashion and kept up such a yelling, letting fly his

arrows all the time, that their assailants evidently thought the English had a whole party of the Powhatan assisting them, and after a short skirmish vanished as suddenly as they had appeared. Pursuing them a short distance, the whites came upon a savage lying wounded on the ground and apparently dead. On picking him up, however, they found that he was still alive, and had great work to prevent their Indian guide from beating out his brains. The prisoner was taken to the boat, where his wound was dressed and he was given something to eat, when he became somewhat more cheerful. The English then began to question him through their Powhatan interpreter and learned that his name was Amoroleck and that he was the brother of the chief of the Hasinninga, who, with a large hunting party made up from several tribes of the confederacy, was camped at Mahaskahod, a hunting camp or headquarters not far off, on the border line between the Manahoac and their enemies the Powhatan. When asked why they had attacked the whites, who came to them in peace to seek their love, he replied that "they heard we were a people come from vnder the world, to take their world from them"—not altogether a bad guess for an Indian. "We asked him how many worlds he did know, he replyed, he knew no more but that which was vnder the skie that covered him, which were the Powhatans, with the Monacans and the Massawomeks, that were higher vp in the mountains. Then we asked him what was beyond the mountains, he answered the Sunne: but of any thing els he knew nothing; because the woods were not burnt." He further told them that the Monacan were their neighbors and friends, and dwelt like themselves in the hill country along the small streams, living partly on roots and fruits, but chiefly by hunting.

That night as they sailed down the river they were again attacked in the darkness by the Manahoac, who evidently believed that the whites had killed the brother of their chief. The English could hear their arrows dropping on every side of the boat, while the Indians on shore kept up a continual shouting and yelling. As it was impossible to take aim in the darkness, the whites had to content themselves with firing in the direction from which the most noise seemed to come. The Indians kept up the pursuit, however, until daylight, when the English, having come to a broad bay in the river, pulled the boat out of reach of the arrows and coolly proceeded to eat their breakfast. This done, they got their arms in order and then had their prisoner to open communication with his countrymen standing on the bank. The Indian gave the savages a glowing account of how the strangers had preserved his life, how well they had used him, how they wished to be friends, and how it was impossible to do them any harm. His speech had a very gratifying effect upon the Manahoac, who hung their bows and quivers upon the trees, while one came swimming out to the boat with a bow tied upon his head, and another with a quiver of arrows carried in the same way. These they delivered to Smith, it being evidently their ceremonial form of making peace. Smith received the envoys

kindly and expressed his desire that the other chiefs in the party should go through the same ceremony, in order that the great king whose servant he was might be their friend.

It was no sooner demanded but performed, so vpon a low Moorish poynt of Land we went to the shore, where those foure Kings came and receiued Amoroleck: nothing they had but Bowes, Arrowes, Tobacco-bags, and Pipes: what we desired, none refused to give vs, wondering at every thing we had, and heard we had done: our Pistols they tooke for pipes, which they much desired, but we did content them with other Commodities, and so we left foure or fiue hundred of our merry Mannahocks, singing, dauncing, and making merry (Smith, 5).

And so do we leave them for a hundred years. With the exception of an uncertain reference by Lederer to the "Mahocks," apparently a hostile tribe living in 1670 about the upper James, there seems to be nothing more concerning the Manahoac confederates for more than a century. In this year Lederer made a journey from Rappahannock falls due westward to the mountains, through the center of the old Manahoac country, but as he met no Indians it is probable that these tribes had already moved farther south, and that the Mahock found by him on the James in the same year were identical with the Manahoac of Smith. A wandering people, living remote from the white settlements along the coast and isolated from them by the intervening tribes of the Powhatan, they appear to have silently melted away before the attacks of their Iroquois enemies from the north, until in the beginning of the eighteenth century we find only the Stegarake remaining, the others having disappeared or consolidated with them.

In 1711 Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, mentions the "Stukarocks" in connection with the Tutelo and Saponi (Burk, 1). Again, in 1722, the "Stenkenocks" are mentioned in the same connection as one of the tribes living near Fort Christanna, in Virginia, and which the colonial government desired to secure from the further attacks of the Iroquois (New York, 4). In 1728 Byrd speaks of the "Steukenhocks" as a remnant of a tribe living with the Saponi and others at the same fort (Byrd, 3). This seems to be their last appearance in history as a distinct tribe. The few survivors were merged with the Saponi and Tutelo, and thenceforward followed their wandering fortunes, as will be related in treating of the Monacan tribes.

After careful investigation, J. N. B. Hewitt makes the date of the formation of the Iroquois league about 1570. It was about forty years later when Smith learned of them from the Manahoac on the Rappahannock as making war on all the world. From this it would seem that within the brief space of half a lifetime they had made their name terrible throughout a wide area. At this period the whole interior of Pennsylvania was an unoccupied wilderness. The Delaware did not remove from Delaware river and the coast lands to settle upon the Susquehanna until driven by the pressure of the whites a century later. The Conoy (Piscataway) did not move up the Potomac into Pennsylvania until about the same time, so that when Smith wrote,

and for a long time thereafter, the Iroquois invaders met no opposition to their southward advance until they struck the Conestoga (Susquehanna) at the head of Chesapeake bay and the Manahoac themselves on the Rappahannock. The Conestoga, being a powerful people and protected by stockaded forts, were able to hold out until 1675, but the Manahoac, having no such defensive structures to which they could retreat, and probably also having less capacity for organization, were sooner overpowered and forced to abandon their country. Some fled to their kindred and friends, the Monacan, farther southward; but as these were exposed to the same invasion, it seems quite probable that the majority chose rather to cross the mountains to their westward and seek refuge in the unclaimed and untenanted region of the Big Sandy, afterward known as the river of the Totteroy, the generic Iroquois name for the eastern Siouan tribes, including the Catawba.

In regard to these southern conquests by the Iroquois, a speaker for the league, in a council at Lancaster in 1744, emphatically denied that the English had conquered any tribes in that direction excepting the Powhatan and the Tuskarora, and asserted that all the world knew that the Iroquois had conquered the tribes formerly living on the Susquehanna and Potomac and at the back of the Blue ridge, and that these tribes, or their remnants, were now a part of the Iroquois and their lands belonged to the Iroquois alone. Among these conquered tribes he named the Conoyuch-such-roonaw, Cohnowas-ronow (Conoy?), Tohoairough-roonaw (Tutelo?) and the Konnutskinough-roonaw. As these are not the Iroquois names for the Cherokee, Delaware, Shawano, Miami or any other of the important tribes afterward known in that region, it is possible that we have here, among others, the Manahoac and Monacan under other names.

All that we have of the language of the Manahoac is comprised in the eight tribal names given by Smith, with the name of the hunting camp, Mahaskahod, and the single personal name Amoroleck. Even these are open to suspicion, as they were obtained through an interpreter of a different linguistic stock. The names Manahoac and Stegarake look very much like Algonquian words, or foreign words with an Algonquian suffix. The prefix *mo* or *ma* seems to be the same that appears in all the Monacan tribal names, and is perhaps the Siouan locative root *mo* or *ma*, signifying place, earth, or country. Smith in one place includes both Manahoac and Monacan in a list of tribes which could not understand one another except through interpreters, and again states rather indefinitely that among the Manahoac tribes were "many different in language" (Smith, 6). But although Smith was intimately acquainted with the Powhatan tribes on the coast, and to some extent with the Monacan, into whose territories he once conducted an exploring party, his knowledge of the Manahoac was extremely limited, since, as we have shown, he never went beyond the border of their country, and met with them on but one occasion, when

he conversed with them through a Powhatan interpreter. The fact that the Monacan and Manahoac were so closely allied, lived in the same fashion and in practically the same country, renders it probable that the linguistic difference was only dialectic. Byrd, a most competent authority, who knew the remnants of these tribes a century later, tells us positively that each was formerly a distinct nation, or rather a different canton of the same nation, speaking the same language and having the same customs (Byrd, 4). Knowing the Saponi and Tutelo, whom he includes i this statement, to be Siouan, we are thus enabled upon his authority to assign the Stegarake and the other Manahoac tribes to the same family.

THE MONACAN CONFEDERACY, INCLUDING THE SAPONI AND TUTELO.

Monacan Synonymy.

Manacans.—Smith (1629), Virginia (reprint of 1819), vol. i, p. 136.
Manachees.—Neill, Virginia Carolorum, 1886, p. 325.
Manakan.—Document of 1701 in Virginia Historical Collections, new series, 1886, vol. v, p. 42.
Manakins.—Stith (1747) quoted in note by Burk, Virginia, 1804, vol. i, p. 128.
Manikin.—Document of 1700 in Va. Hist. Coll., op. cit., p. 48.
Mannacans.—Strachey (about 1612), Virginia, 1849, p. 41.
Mannachin.—Document of 1701 in Va. Hist. Coll., op. cit., p. 45.
Mannakin.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint of 1860, p. 187.
Manskin.—Herrman map, 1670, in Report Comrs. on Boundary between Virginia and Maryland, 1873 (misprint).
Manycan.—Document of 1700 in Va. Hist. Coll., op. cit., p. 51.
Monacans.—Smith, Virginia, op. cit., vol. i, p. 116.
Monacans.—Beverley, Virginia, 1722, p. 245.
Monachans.—Yong (1634), in Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, 1871, vol. ix, p. 112.
Monakins.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 9.
Monocans.—Strachey, Virginia, op. cit., p. 27.

Mchemenchoes.—Jefferson (1781), Notes on Virginia, 1794, p. 134.
Mowhemcho.—Smith, Virginia, op. cit., vol. i, map (misprint).
Mowhemenchouch.—Ibid., p. 196.
Mowhemenchughes.—Ibid., p. 134.

Massinacacs.—Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, p. 134.
Massinacak.—Smith, op. cit., p. 196.
Massinnacacks.—Ibid., p. 134.

Flanahaskies.—Fernow, Ohio Valley, 1890, p. 219 (misprint).
Hanahaskies.—Batts (1671), New York Documentary Colonial History, 1853, vol. iii, p. 197 (misprint).
Hanohaskies.—Ibid., p. 194 (misprint).
Monahasanugh.—Smith, Virginia, op. cit., map.
Monahassanoes.—Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, p. 134.
Monahassanughes.—Strachey, Virginia, op. cit., p. 102.
Nahyssans.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 9.
Nobissan.—Lederer, map in ibid (misprint).

Yesáⁿ.—Hale MS. (Bureau of Ethnology), 1877 (name used by themselves).
Yesah.—Hale, in Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., 1883–'84, vol. xxi, p. 11. (See *Tutelo*.)
Yesang.—Ibid.

Monasiccapanoes.—Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, 134.
Monasickapanoughs.—Smith, Virginia, vol. i, 134.
Monasukapanough.—Ibid., map.

Saponi and Tutelo Synonymy.

Christanna Indians (collective).—Albany Conference (1722) in Byrd, Hist. Dividing Line, 1866, vol. ii, p. 253.
Christian Indians.—Albany Conference (1722) in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. v, p. 671 (misprint).
Christianna Indians.—Ibid., p. 673.

Paanese (for Sa-paanese).—Albany treaty (1789) in Hale, N. W. States, 1849, p. 70.
Saps.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, 1860, p. 89.
Sapan.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, map.
Sapon.—Ibid., p. 2.
Saponas.—Lawson, op. cit., p. 83.
Sapones.—Drake, Book of the Indians, 1848, p. xii.
Sapongs.—Batts (1671) in N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., vol. iii, p. 194 (misprint, *g* for *y*).
Saponeys.—Johnson (1763), ibid., vol. vii, p. 582.
Saponees.—Knight (1712) in N. C. Records, vol. i, p. 866.
Saponi.—Byrd (1728), Hist. Dividing Line, vol. i, p. 75.
Saponie.—Document of 1711 in N. C. Records, vol. i, p. 808.
Saponys.—Document of 1728 in Colonial Virginia State Papers, 1875, vol. i, p. 215.
Sapoones.—Croghan (1765) in Monthly American Journal of Geology, 1831, p. 271.
Sapoonies.—Hutchins (1768) in Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, 1787, p. 169.
Sappona.—Pollock (1712) in N. C. Records, vol. i, p. 884.
Sapponees.—Albany Conference (1717) in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. v, p. 490 (misprint, *c* for *e*).
Sapponees.—N. C. Council (1727) in N. C. Records, vol. ii, p. 674.
Sapponeys.—Document of 1709 in Colonial Virginia State Papers, 1875, vol. i, p. 131.
Sapponie.—N. C. Council (1726) in N. C. Records, vol. ii, p. 643.
Sapponnee.—Albany Conference (1717) in N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., vol. v., p. 490.
Sappony.—N. C. Council (1727) in N. C. Records, vol. ii, p. 674.
Shateras.—Bellomont (1699) in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. iv, p. 488. (misprint for Tateras).
Taderighrones.—Index, ibid., 1861, p. 312.
Tadirighrones.—Albany Conference (1722), ibid., vol. v, p. 660.
Tatera.—Boudinot, Star in the West, 1816, p. 100.
Tedarighroones.—Mount Johnson Conference (1753) in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. vi, p. 811.
Tedarrighroones.—Ibid., p. 812.
Tedderighroones.—Index, op. cit.
Tedirighroonas.—Conference of 1756, ibid., vol. vii, p. 55.
Tehotirigh.—Hale, in Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., 1883–'84, vol. xxi, p. 11 (dialectic Iroquois form).
Tehutili.—Ibid. (dialectic Iroquois form).
Tentilves.—Boudinot, Star in the West, 1816, p. 129 (for Teutilnes).
Tetarighroones.—Mt. Johnson Conference (1753) in N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., vol. vi, p. 814.
Tetero.—Byrd (1729), History of the Dividing Line, 1866, vol. i, p. 189.
Teuteloe.—Macauley, History of New York, 1829, vol. ii, p. 180.
Thedirighroonas.—Index, op. cit.

Thoderighroonas.—Conference of 1756 in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. vii, p. 136.
Tiederighroenes.—Cannajohary Conference (1759) in ibid., vol. vii, p. 380.
Tiederighroonas.—Mount Johnson Conference (1755) in ibid., vol. vi, p. 982.
Tiederigoene.—Stone, Life of Sir William Johnson, 1865, vol. i, p. 485, note.
Tiederigroenes.—Mount Johnson Conference, op. cit., p. 964.
Tiutei.—Hale in Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., 1883–'84, vol. xxi, p. 11 (Iroquois dialectic form).
Tiuterih.—Ibid (Iroquois dialectic form).
Toalaghreghroonces.—Albany Conference, 1748, in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. vi, p. 447 (misprint).
Toataghreghroones.—Ibid., p. 441, note.
Toderechrones.—Albany Conference, 1722, op. cit., vol. v, p. 671.
Toderichroone.—Albany Conference, 1717, op. cit., vol. v, p. 491.
Todericks.—Boudinot, Star in the West, 1816, p. 100.
Todevigh-rono.—Johnson map, 1771; fide Hale, Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc., 1883–'84, vol. xxi, p. 8 (misprint, *v* for *a*).
Todirichroones.—Albany Conference, 1722, op. cit., vol. v, p. 673.
Tolera.—Batts, 1671, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 194 (misprint).
Tolere.—Lambreville, 1686, fide Hale, op. cit., p. 2 (misprint).
Toleri.—Index, op. cit., p. 313.
Torteros.—Logan, History of Upper South Carolina, 1859, vol. i, p. 33 (misquotation).
Totaly.—Macauley, History of New York, 1829, vol. ii, p. 166.
Totaro.—Dorsey, manuscript information. (A district in Brunswick County, Virginia, named from the tribe.)
Toteloes.—Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, 1853, vol. iii, p. 196.
Toteras.—Brickell, Natural History of North Carolina, 1737, p. 343.
Toteris.—Index, op. cit., p. 313.
Toteros.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina (reprint, 1860), p. 83.
Totierono.—Vaudreuil Conference (1756) in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. x, p. 500.
Totiris.—Chauvignerie (?), 1736, in ibid., vol. ix, p. 1057.
Totora.—Clayton (1671) in Fernow, Ohio Valley, 1890, p. 221.
Totteros.—Spotswood (1711) in Burk, History of Virginia, 1805, vol. iii, opposite p. 89.
Tutecoes.—Johnson (1763) in N. Y. Doc. Col. History, vol. vii, p. 582 (misprint).
Tuteeves.—Plan of Management (1764) in ibid., vol. vii, p. 641 (misprint).
Tutela.—Brainerd (1745) in Day, History of Pennsylvania, 1843, p. 525.
Tutele, Tutelegi.—Gatschet, Shawano MS. (Shawano singular and plural forms).
Tutelee.—Zeisberger (1782), Diary, 1885, vol. i, p. 115.
Tuteloes.—German Flats Conference (1770) in N. Y. Documentary Colonial History, vol. viii, p. 229.
Tutic.—Hale, op. cit., p. 11 (Iroquois dialectic form).
Tutloe.—Macauley, op. cit., p. 169.
Tuttelars.—Document of 1756 in Rupp, Northampton County, 1845, p. 106.
Tuttelee.—Jones, Ojibway Indians, 1861, p. 21.
Tutulor.—Peters (1761) in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th series, 1871, vol. ix, p. 440.
Yesan.—Hale, Letter of 1877, in Bureau of Ethnology (proper tribal name).
Yesah, Yesang.—Hale, op. cit., p. 11 (proper tribal name).

THE MONACAN PROPER.

The history of the Monacan tribes of Virginia belongs to two distinct periods, the colonization period and the colonial period. By the former we may understand the time of exploration and settlement from the first landing of the English in Virginia to the expeditions of Lederer

and Batts, in 1670 and 1671, which supplied the first definite information in regard to the country along the base of the mountains. Under the colonial period we may include everything else, as after the Revolution the small remnant incorporated with the Iroquois in Canada virtually disappeared from history. Up to 1670 the Monacan tribes had been but little disturbed by the whites, although there is evidence that the wars waged against them by the Iroquois were keeping them constantly shifting about. Their country had not been penetrated, excepting by a few traders who kept no journals, and only the names of those living immediately on the frontiers of Virginia were known to the whites. Chief among these were the Monacan proper, having their village a short distance above Richmond. In 1670 Lederer crossed the country in a diagonal line from the present Richmond to Catawba river, on the frontiers of South Carolina, and a year later a party under Batts explored the country westward across the Blue ridge to the headwaters of New river. Thenceforward accounts were heard of Nahyssan, Sapona, Totero, Occaneechi, and others, consolidated afterward in a single body at the frontier, Fort Christanna, and thereafter known collectively as Saponi or Tutelo. The Monacan proper form the connecting link between the earlier and the later period. The other tribes of this connection were either extinct or consolidated under other names before 1700, or were outside of the territory known to the first writers. For this reason it is difficult to make the names of the earlier tribes exactly synonymous with those known later, although the proof of lineal descent is sometimes beyond question.

We shall deal first with the Monacan and confederated tribes mentioned by Smith. According to this explorer the Monacan confederacy in 1607 held the country along James river above the Powhatan, whose frontier was about the falls at which Richmond was afterward located. Among the tribes of the confederacy Smith enumerated the Monacan proper, the Mowhemenchugh, Massinnacack, Monahassanugh, and Monasickapanough, and says there were others, which he does not name. Like their neighbors, the cognate Manahoac on the Rappahannock, they were "very barbarous" and subsisted chiefly by hunting and by gathering wild fruits. They were in alliance with the Manahoac and at constant war with the Powhatan, and in mortal dread of the Massawomeke or Iroquois beyond the mountains (Smith, 7). He seems to imply that the Monacan tribes named spoke different languages, although in another place (Smith, 8) we are led to infer that they had but one. The difference was probably only dialectic, although the cognate and confederate tribes farther southward probably used really different languages.

Strachey derives the name Monacan from the Powhatan word *monohacan* or *monowhauk*, "sword," while Heckewelder, through the Delaware language, translates it "spade" or "digging instrument." It is more probable that the word is not Algonquian at all, but that the

tribal names given by Smith are approximations to the names used by the tribes themselves. The prefix *ma*, *mo*, or *mon*, which occurs in all of them, may be the Siouan *ma*^{n}, "earth" or "country." Monahassanugh is the Nahyssan of Lederer, and Monasickapanough may possibly be the original of Saponi.

The principal village of the Monacan in Smith's time was Rasauweak or Rassawek, located in the fork of James and Rivanna rivers, in what is now Fluvanna county, Virginia. The village known sixty years later as "Monacan Town" was identical with the Mowhem[en]cho or Massinnacack of Smith's map (Smith, 9).

The English having established themselves at Jamestown and explored the bay and the lower courses of the principal rivers, were anxious to penetrate the interior toward the head of the James, with an eye particularly to the discovery of minerals. In this connection it may be stated that coal was afterward discovered and worked with profit near the Monacan town. To accomplish their purpose the more readily they strove to obtain the aid of Powhatan under the specious pretext of revenging him upon the Monacan, but the proud chieftain, jealous of the encroachments of the strangers, replied that he could avenge his own injuries, and refused to lend them guides or assist them in any way. Finally, in the fall of 1608, a party of 120 men under Newport set out from the falls of the James and marched about 40 miles inland up the river, returning in about a week, after having discovered two of the Monacan villages, Massinacak and Mowhemenchouch. They evidently met no friendly reception from the Monacan, which is hardly to be wondered at in view of the fact that the whites were scheming to induce the Powhatan to make war upon that tribe in order to get possession of their country. As Powhatan had refused to furnish guides, they seized a Monacan chief, and, after tying him, forced him to go with them and point out the way, which was not conducive to friendlier feelings in future contacts. After making trial of several mineral deposits, they returned without having accomplished much in the way of either discovery or negotiation with the Indians (Smith, 10). This was the first entry into the Monacan country.

In the next year (1609) the English made a settlement at the falls of the James, in the immediate vicinity of the principal residence of Powhatan. The site chosen proving unfavorable, they coolly proposed to Powhatan that he should surrender to them his own favorite village and further pay a yearly tribute of corn for the pleasure of their company, or else give them the Monacan country, as though it was his to give. The old chief made no bargain, but in a short time his people were loud in their complaints that the English, who had promised to protect them from their enemies, were worse neighbors than the Monacan themselves (Smith, 11).

After this no more was heard of the Monacan for sixty years. The English were settled on their border, and of course were constantly

encroaching upon them, and, like all the Virginia tribes, they rapidly wasted away. The Powhatan on the east probably kept up their desultory raids so long as they themselves were in condition to fight, and from numerous chance references we know that the Iroquois were constantly striking them in the rear. They probably suffered more or less by the relentless war waged by the Virginians against the Powhatan from 1622 to 1645, at one time during which it was enacted that there should be three annual expeditions to sweep the whole country from the sea to the heads of the rivers for the utter extermination of the Indians. They were also directly in the track of the Rechahecrian (Rickohockan, Cherokee), who in 1656 (or 1654) descended from the mountains and ravaged the country as far as the falls of the James, where they defeated the combined forces of the English and Pamunki in perhaps the bloodiest Indian battle ever fought on the soil of Virginia (Neill; Burk, 2). The traders were probably among them before this time, as we find that in 1643 a party was authorized to explore the country west and south of Appomattox river, with the right to trade with the Indians for fourteen years (Neill). In 1665 stringent laws were enacted for the government of the Indians, and they were no longer allowed to choose their own chiefs, but were compelled to accept chiefs appointed by the governor (Neill). It is quite plain that all the Virginia tribes alike had now become mere dependents of the English. A remark by Lederer indicates that the Saponi were at this time carrying on a war with the whites, and from the harsh regulations made by Virginia it is probable that the Monacan and others nearer home were also concerned.

In 1669 the Manachee, or Monacan, were reduced to 30 bowmen (Neill, 1), with perhaps a total population of 100 or 120. No other tribe of the confederacy is named in the census of that year, the tribes known later being still beyond the borders of the settlements. In 1670 the German traveler, John Lederer, under a commission from the governor of Virginia, explored the country from the settlement at James falls (Richmond) southwestward through Virginia and North Carolina to Catawba river. Two days above the falls he came to the village of the Monacan, who received him with friendly volleys from their firearms. From this and other references it appears that the warriors of the Virginia frontier, although still called "bowmen," were already pretty well supplied with guns. This village, known then and later as "Monacan Town," was on the southern side of James river, about 20 miles above the present Richmond, and within the present limits of Powhatan county, Virginia. The Indian plantations extended for 3 miles along the river, between two small streams known as Monacan and Powick creeks. In 1699 a colony of French Huguenots took possession of the spot, which still retained the name of Monacan Town, although the Indians had disappeared (Beverley, 1; V. H. S., 1). The village seems identical with the Mowhem(en)cho of Smith's map of 1609.

Near the village Lederer noticed a pyramid of stones, and was told that it represented the number of a colony which had left a neighboring country because of overpopulation, a condition easily reached among hunting tribes. The emigrants, having been chosen by lot, had come to their present location under the leadership of a chief called Monack, from whom they derived their name of Monacan (Lederer, 1). As the explorer stopped with them only long enough to learn the road to the next tribe, his version of their migration legend must be taken with due allowance.

In another place Lederer states that the country between the falls of the rivers and the mountains was formerly owned by the "Tacci" or "Dogi," who were then extinct, and their place occupied by the Mahoc (not identified), Nuntaneuck or Nuntaly (not identified), Nahyssan (Monahassano or Tutelo), Sapon (Saponi), Managog (Mannahoac), Mangoack (Nottoway), Akenatzy (Occaneechi), and Monakin. All these, he says, had one common language, in different dialects. This was probably true, except as to the Nottoway, who were of Iroquoian stock. He describes the region, the piedmont section of Virginia and Carolina, as a pleasant and fruitful country, with open spaces clear of timber and abounding in game. Farther on he says again that the Indians of this piedmont region are none of those whom the English removed out of Virginia, but that they had been driven by an enemy from the northwest and directed to settle here by an oracle, according to their story, more than four hundred years before. He also says that the ancient inhabitants of the region, presumably the Tacci, were far more rude and barbarous than the more recent occupants, and fed only on raw flesh and fish, until these latter taught them how to plant corn and instructed them in the use of it (Lederer, 2). As Lederer's narrative was written originally in Latin, his names must be pronounced as in that language.

In regard to the origin of these tribes, Lawson, speaking of the Indians of Virginia and Carolina, says that they claimed that their ancestors had come from the west, where the sun sleeps (Lawson, 1). The Catawba, as will be shown later on, had a tradition of a northern origin. All these statements and traditions concerning the eastern Siouan tribes, taken in connection with what we know of the history and traditions of the western tribes of the same stock, seem to indicate the upper region of the Ohio—the Alleghany, Monongahela, and Kanawha country—as their original home, from which one branch crossed the mountains to the waters of Virginia and Carolina while the other followed along the Ohio and the lakes toward the west. Linguistic evidence indicates that the eastern tribes of the Siouan family were established upon the Atlantic slope long before the western tribes of that stock had reached the plains.

The Tacci or Dogi, mentioned as the aborigines of Virginia and Carolina, may have been only a mythic people, a race of monsters or unnatural beings, such as we find in the mythologies of all tribes. They have

no relation to the Doeg, named in the records of the Bacon rebellion in 1675, who were probably a branch of the Nanticoke.

This seems to be the last appearance of the Monacan in history under that name. Beverley, in his history of Virginia, published in 1722, makes no mention of them in his list of existing tribes, but in speaking of the Huguenot colony of 1699, already mentioned, says that these exiles settled on a piece of very rich land on the southern side of James river, about 20 miles above the falls, "which land was formerly the seat of a great and warlike nation of Indians called the Monacáns, none of which are now left in these parts; but the land still retains their name, and is called the Monacan Town" (Beverley, 2). It is probable that between 1670 and 1699 the small remnant had removed westward and joined the Nahyssan (Tutelo) and Saponi.

On leaving the Monacan, Lederer passed through the territory of the Mahock, mentioned later on, and then, with a single Indian companion, left James river and turned southwestward. After traveling four days over a rough road without meeting Indians or signs of habitation, he arrived at "Sapon, a town of the Nahyssans," situated on a tributary of the upper Roanoke. His estimates of distances are too great, but from a comparison of his narrative with that of Batts, written a year later, it seems probable that the Saponi village was on Otter river, a tributary of the Staunton, or Roanoke, southwest of Lynchburg, Virginia. He describes the village as situated on high land, by the side of a stately river, with rich soil and all the requisites for a pleasant and advantageous settlement. The name Sapon or Saponi may possibly have a connection with the Siouan (Dakota) word *sapa*, "black." The chief resided at another village, called Pintahæ, (p. 127), not far distant, and equally well situated on the same river.

Lederer states that the Nahyssan had been constantly at war with the whites for ten years past, notwithstanding which he ventured to go among them, trusting to the trading goods which he carried to procure him a welcome; for he had heard that they never offered any injury to a small party from which no danger could be apprehended. In another place he observes that Totopotomoi, the Pamunki chief, had been killed while fighting for the English against the Mahock and Nahyssan. This event occurred during the invasion of the Rechahecrian (Cherokee) in 1656, and if Lederer's statement be true it would prove that the Siouan tribes of Virginia had aided the Cherokee in this invasion. This is quite likely, as we know that the upper tribes had always been the enemies of the Powhatan, living lower down. It is probable also that the war mentioned by Lederer had been inaugurated in that year. However, the event justified his calculations, for after questioning him closely as to whence he came, whither he went, and what his business was, his answers, with the trinkets which he presented them, satisfied them that he intended no mischief, and they welcomed him with every demonstration of friendship. They even went so far as to offer a "sacrifice"—probably a ceremonial dance—in his

honor, and solemnly consulted their "medicine" to know whether they should not admit him to their council and adopt him into their tribe and induce him to stay with them by giving him for a wife the daughter of one of their principal men. With some difficulty he waived the honor and got away by promising to return to them before many months (Lederer, 3), a promise which, however, he failed to keep.

In Nahyssan we have the Monahassanugh of Smith, the Hanohaskie of Batts, and the Yesang of Hale. The last is evidently the generic root word, the prefix *Mo*, *Mona*, or *Na* in the other forms probably giving a specific local application to the common term. Thus from Lederer's statement that Sapon was a Nahyssan town we understand that the Saponi were a subtribe or division of the people who knew themselves as Yesang. Pintahæ was the local name of another tribe or settlement included under the same generic designation. This is the first mention of the Saponi, the Tutelo being first named the following year by Batts.

The Nahyssan chief is described as an absolute monarch. The people were tall, warlike, and rich. Lawson also, thirty years later, describes them as tall and well built. In their little temples or medicine lodges they had large quantities of pearls, which they had taken in war from the southern tribes bordering on Florida, and which were as highly prized as among the whites. Their tribal ensign consisted of three arrows (Lederer, 4). In this connection Beverley states that the Indians of each Virginian tribe had a particular tribal mark painted on the shoulder to distinguish themselves when away from home. A common tribal mark consisted of one, two, or three arrows arranged to point upward, downward, or sidewise, and the Virginia assembly found this system of aboriginal heraldry of such practical use in distinguishing friends from enemies that they had these designs stamped on metal badges which they distributed in quantities to each of the friendly tribes, and also enacted a law that no Indians should come among the settlements without them (Beverley, 3).

Lederer gives some general information in regard to these interior tribes which may be of interest here. In his hints to traders he advised them to carry, to those nearest the frontier, trading cloth (of which a yard and a half sufficed to make an Indian matchcoat or mantle), together with axes, hoes, knives, scissors, and all kinds of edged tools. Arms and ammunition would be eagerly purchased, but this trade was contraband, notwithstanding which it appears from various statements that some of the tribes were already well supplied in this respect. For the remoter tribes the best trading articles were small mirrors, pictures, beads, bracelets, knives, scissors, and all kinds of gaudy trinkets and toys that were light and easily carried. The goods were frequently paid for by the Indians with their native wampum, which he describes as their current coin, or with pearls or vermilion, or sometimes, in the south, with pieces of silver obtained from the Indians adjoining the Spaniards. He shows himself informed in all the methods of wheedling

an Indian, even to making him drunk preparatory to a trade, and lays down the cardinal principle, as good now as then, that "in dealing with the Indians you must be positive and at a word." On approaching an Indian village the traveler was advised to first learn through his scouts whether the tribe held any communication with the Susquehanna, in which case he should give notice of his approach by firing a gun. With other tribes this was to be avoided, as these were ignorant of the use of firearms, and would thus be frightened and disposed to some treacherous act. From this it would seem that the Susquehanna, living at the head of Chesapeake bay, were the medium through which the Virginia and Carolina Indians obtained firearms. Lederer's guide on this journey was himself a Susquehanna. On entering the settlement the traveler was not to go into any house until invited, when he would be led in bound like a prisoner, a curious custom, which they applied to friends and foes alike. An invitation from the old men should be accepted in preference to one from the younger warriors, and the guest was advised to be careful to refuse nothing that was set before him, or in any other way to slight their courtesy in the least, as they were jealous of their dignity and revengeful when angered. Traders were enjoined not to fail to go the rounds of their camp at the close of the evening, for it was then, and early in the morning, that danger was to be anticipated; in the night time the Indians never made an attack. This applies also to our modern prairie tribes, arising from a belief common among them that an Indian killed at night will be forever in darkness in the spirit world. It is plain from Lederer's account that traders generally were as unscrupulous, and Indians as uncertain, two centuries ago as today.

For counting, they used pebbles, or bundles of short reeds or straws. Heaps of stones indicated the number of persons killed on a battle-ground, or of emigrants to some distant region. Time was measured, and a rude chronology was arranged by means of strings of leather with knots of various colors, very much as in Peru. This system proved so convenient in dealing with Indians that it was adopted for that purpose by a governor of South Carolina, as shown by an incidental reference in Lawson. At certain ceremonies reeds or straws were arranged in a particular order, and left thus in place after the ceremony as a record of the character of the performance there enacted. They were never disturbed, as it was deemed a sacrilege to interfere with them. If the explorer's account can be believed they had a highly developed pictograph system, by means of which they symbolized not only physical things but also mental qualities. Thus, swiftness was indicated by the figure of a deer, wrath by that of a serpent, courage by the picture of a lion (panther), and fidelity by that of a dog. The English were symbolized under the figure of a swan, on account of their white complexion and their power of flight across the sea.

Lederer's account of their religion is too general to be definite, and he neglects to state to what particular tribal language the Indian names quoted belong. They believed in a supreme creator (?) under various names, to whom only the high priest offered sacrifice. This supreme being, however, was supposed to pay no heed to any earthly matters; so these were committed to the care of lesser spirits, good or bad as the case might be, to whom the ordinary medicine-men offered prayers and ceremonial propitiation. By Lederer's supreme god, to whom only the high priest sacrificed, may perhaps be understood the special palladium or "medicine" of the tribe, in the keeping of a priest of a particular family or order.

They had a system of four gentes (as before remarked, it is impossible to know how many or to what particular tribes this statement applies), called by the names of four women, Pash, Sepoy, Askarin, and Maraskarin, from whom they derived their origin, and who were believed to be the common ancestors of the human race. They had a strict marriage and kinship system, based on this clan division, with descent in the female line. Marriage within the clan was regarded as incest and was punished with great severity. Even in death this division was followed out and separate quarters of their burial places were assigned to each of the four clans. The dead were wrapped in skins of animals and buried with food and household properties deemed necessary for the use of the ghost in the other world. When a noted warrior died, prisoners of war were sometimes killed at the grave to accompany him to the land of the dead. Their spirit world was in the west, beyond the mountains and the traditional western ocean.

Their traditional history was delivered in the form of long narratives from the fathers to the children, who were obliged to learn them by heart. Although ignorant of books and letters, they were trained in expression and oratory, and their speakers were frequently men of much judgment and eloquence. Children were ruled by persuasion instead of command, and were never punished. On one occasion, while among the Sara, a little boy shot an arrow at Lederer's horse, and when the traveler spurred the animal out of his reach, the young savage tried to send his next arrow through the body of the rider. With much trouble the explorer was able to pacify him with small trinkets, but the affair roused such a commotion that the old men had to take the white man and his horse under their protection to save them from injury (Lederer, 5).

Beverley gives several additional facts in regard to the customs and beliefs of the tribes of this section, with more particular reference to the Occaneechi, whose dialect was the common language of trade and religion. Strangers were received with the pipe of peace, which was made larger than the ordinary pipe and adorned with the wings and feathers of birds, or with other ornaments. The chief of the village filled and lighted the pipe and handed it to the visitor, who, if on a

friendly errand, accepted it and took a few whiffs and then returned it to the giver, who, after drawing a few puffs himself, passed it over to the second man of the delegation, and so on. A refusal to smoke on the part of the stranger was regarded as a sign of hostility. They were said to believe in a good spirit and an evil one. To the former they paid but little attention, considering it a waste of effort, but took particular pains to conciliate the other with prayer and sacrifice. The medicine-men had great influence, and used the Occaneechi in their ceremonies as a sacred language. Years were counted by winters and were divided into five seasons—the budding or blossoming, the ripening, the midsummer, the harvest or fall, and the winter. Months were counted by moons, and the day was measured by sunrise, noon, and sunset (Beverley, 4).

General accounts of the arts, customs, and ceremonies of these tribes will be reserved for another occasion, and attention may be confined in this paper to the more specific references. Before going further it may be observed that the attempted identification of Lederer's route by Hawks, in his history of North Carolina, seems to be entirely incorrect. After making him swing around a narrow circle instead of proceeding along the lines of the trading path toward a definite point, he leaves the traveler floundering in the marshes of Albemarle sound, when in fact he must have been on Catawba river on the border of South Carolina, and finally gives up the identification in despair with the statement that "Lederer's itinerary presents difficulties which we confess we can not satisfactorily solve."

From the Nahyssan and Saponi Lederer went on into Carolina. In the next year, 1671, an exploring party under Thomas Batts, with two Indian guides, left the Appomattoc village (now Bermuda Hundred, Virginia), at the mouth of the Appomattox, to discover what lay beyond the mountains. Traveling nearly due westward about 140 miles according to their estimate they arrived at the "Sapong Town" (misprint for Sapony), where they were welcomed with firing of guns and plenty of provisions, and were kindly entertained. It is evident that Lederer's visit the year before had left behind a favorable impression toward the whites instead of the former hostility. According to the best study of their route, this village was probably on Otter river, a northern tributary of the Roanoke, in what is now Campbell county, Virginia, nearly south of Lynchburg. It was off the line of the Occaneechi trading path, which they had left behind them the first day.

Procuring a Saponi guide they went on to the village of the "Hanohaskies," which was estimated as 25 miles distant north of west, at no great distance from the mountains, and situated on an island in the "Sapong river." This was probably the northern branch of Staunton river, in the present Bedford county, Virginia. The Hanohaski (probably a misprint for Manohaski) are the Monahassanugh of Smith's map of 1609, on which they are located indefinitely southwest of the junction of the James and the Rivanna. From this tribe they met the same friendly

reception. Leaving there a sick man of their party, they started on again the next day toward the "Tolera town" in the mountains. After going, according to their estimate, about 100 miles in a general southwesterly direction, crossing the "Sapong river" several times and climbing several smaller mountain ridges, they came to the Tolera (misprint for Totera or Tutelo) village located on the headwaters of the Roanoke (Dan) and encircled by mountains. The site was probably about the present state line southwest of Stuart, in Patrick county, Virginia, or possibly within the limits of North Carolina. Here again they were "exceedingly civilly entertained," and having rested a few days they pushed on across the Blue ridge and came down on the other side to the headwaters of New river. After making some further explorations in that direction, they recrossed the mountains and came back as they went, meeting from Tolera, Hanohaski, and Sapong the same kind treatment that they had experienced on their outward journey, and at last arrived at the Appomattoc town after an absence of exactly one month. From their narrative it is evident that the three tribes mentioned, all of whom had already obtained firearms, were in alliance and were also friendly with the Mohetan, living west of the Blue ridge (N. Y., 5).

The Hanohaskie village of Batts may be the Pintahæ of Lederer. The latter did not meet the tribe here desigated as the Tolera, as they were far remote from the regular lines of travel, and after leaving the village which he calls Sapon he turned off to strike the trail which crossed the Roanoke at the Occaneechi village about Clarksville, Virginia. The chief difficulty in comparing the narratives arises from the fact that the names Yesang and Tutelo, in their various forms, are used both specifically and collectively.

COLLATERAL TRIBES.

Before treating of these better known names, several other tribal names or synonyms, for each of which there is but a single authority, may be mentioned. They were all probably of the same Manahoac or Monacan connection, but it is impossible to identify them positively with any of the tribes mentioned by Smith or with any of those prominent in the later colonial records. This is not necessary, however, as Smith himself, in speaking of the two Virginia confederacies just referred to, distinctly states that each had other tribes besides those which he names, while as for the interior of Carolina, it was entirely unknown excepting along the line of the great trading path until after the Tuskarora war of 1711 and the Yamasi war of 1715 had brought about an upheaval and readjustment of tribal relations by which many of the old names disappeared and new ones took their place. In the meantime the Indian wars of Bacon's rebellion and the constant inroads of the Iroquois had served further to complicate the problem.

The Mahoc.—Lederer is the sole authority for this tribe. From his narrative it appears that in 1670 they were living on the upper James,

with their village at the junction of a stream coming in from the north which he judged to be about 100 miles above the Monacan town. This estimate is too great, but it is probable that they were located about the foothills east of the Blue ridge. The name suggests the Manahoac, but, as he mentions both Mahoc and Managog in a list of tribes, they may have been distinct. From his reference it seems that they were hostile to the English, and he states that Totopotomoi, the Pamunki chief, had been killed while fighting for the whites against the Mahoc and Nahyssan. As this chief was killed while fighting at the head of his men, side by side with the English, to drive back the Rickohockan invasion in 1656, it would seem that the Rickochokan (Cherokee) were joined by Siouan tribes in their descent upon the lowlands. The Mahock are mentioned as speaking the same language, with dialectic difference, common to the Monacan, Nahyssan, Saponi, and other tribes of that section. Lederer passed through their territory on his way to the Saponi, but apparently did not meet any of them. The name is intended to be pronounced with the Latin vowel sounds (*Mahoc*, Lederer, p. 2; *Mahock*, ibid., pp. 7, 9, 11).

The Nuntaneuck or Nuntaly.—This tribe is mentioned as speaking the common language of the Monacan, Nahyssan, Saponi, and others, and as having occupied the piedmont country jointly with those tribes after the extinction of the Tacci. Their name also is to be pronounced as in Latin (Lederer, p. 2).

The Mohetan.—These Indians are mentioned in the narrative of Batts' exploring expedition into western Virginia in September, 1671. After crossing the Blue ridge to the headwaters of New river the party came upon recently cleared cornfields along the stream, from which it appeared the Mohetan had but lately removed. On their return to the Tutelo village on a head stream of Roanoke or Dan river, they found a Mohetan Indian who had been sent by his people to learn if the English had come with hostile purpose. Being assured to the contrary, and gratified with a small present of powder, he told the explorers that when they had reached their farthest point on New river, apparently a few miles east of the present West Virginia line, they had been very near the Mohetan settlement, and that the next people beyond lived in a plain country from which came abundance of salt. This was probably about the present Mercer Salt Works on New river, in Summers county, West Virginia, or Salt pond, in the adjacent Giles county, Virginia, so that the Mohetan must have lived within the mountains at the head of New river on the western border of Virginia. They knew nothing of what was beyond the salt plains. From the narrative it is evident that they were an agricultural tribe, probably using salt—which was not commonly used by the eastern tribes,—were already acquainted with firearms, and were at this time on good terms with the Tutelo. Although this is the first recorded expedition so far into the mountains, the party found traces of previ-

ous white visitors considerably west of the Blue ridge. In this name the initial *mo* may be the Siouan root *ma*^{n}, "earth" or "country," and the final *ton* may be the Siouan *to*^{n} or *to*^{n}*wa*^{n}, "village" or "settlement," which appears in the tribal names Teton, Yankton, Sisseton, etc. (*Mohetan*, *Moheton*, p. 196, N. Y., 6).

The Meipontsky or Meipoutsky.—These seem to be mentioned only in the report of the Albany conference of 1722, convened at the instance of Governor Spotswood to put an end to the inroads of the Iroquois against the Virginian tribes. They are named as one of the five tribes then living near Fort Christanna and known collectively to the English as Christanna Indians and to the Iroquois as Todirich-roone; the four others being the Saponi, Occaneechi, Stenkenock (Stegaraki), and Tutelo. They were probably one of the Monacan or Manahoac tribes, although they can not be identified with any of those named by Smith; and as they do not appear in the later records we may assume that their existence became merged in that of the Saponi and Tutelo (*Meipontsky*, N. Y., 7; *Meipoutsky*, Byrd, 5).

THE SAPONI AND TUTELO.

The Tutelo and Saponi tribes must be considered together. Their history under either name begins in 1670.

As already stated, Monahassanugh and Nahyssan are other forms of *Yesa*^{n}, the name given to themselves by the last surviving Tutelo, and which seems to have been the generic term used by all the tribes of this connection to designate them as a people. The name Saponi (Monasickapanough ?) was generally limited to a particular tribe or aggregation of tribal remnants, while the Iroquois name Tutelo, Totero, or Todirich-roone, in its various forms, although commonly used by the English to designate a particular tribe, was really the generic Iroquois term for all the Siouan tribes of Virginia and Carolina, including even the Catawba. In 1722 the remnants of all the tribes of Virginia and the adjacent parts of Carolina, included under this general designation by the Iroquois, had been gathered at Fort Christanna and were commonly known collectively as Christanna Indians or Saponi. After their removal to the Iroquois country in the north the Iroquois collective term, Tutelo, became more prominent. In deference to Hale, who first established their Siouan affinity, we have chosen to use the form Tutelo, although Totero is more in agreement with the old authorities. With the Iroquois it takes the tribal suffix *roně*, as Todirich roone. Hale states that, so far as known, the name has no meaning either to the Tutelo, who call themselves Yesang, or to the Iroquois (Hale, 2). As the name is used by Batts and Lawson it probably belongs to some southern language and was adopted by the Iroquois. It frequently happens that Indian tribes can not interpret their common tribal designations, but know themselves simply as "the people."

The next reference to either of these tribes is in 1686, when the French missionary Lambreville reported that the Seneca of New York were preparing to go against the "Tolere," a misprint for Totere (Hale, 3). In 1699 we find the Earl of Bellomont writing from New York as to the convenience of Carolina for treaty with the Shatera (misprint of Totera), Twichtwicht (Miami), and Dowaganhas (Shawano) Indians, "and a world of other nations," which the northern tribes had informed him were as numerous as the sands on the seashore (N. Y., 8).

In their frontier position at the base of the mountains the Saponi and Tutelo were directly in the path of the Iroquois, whose war trail toward the Catawba crossed the Dan at a point between the mouths of Smith river and Mayo river, about on the line of the present railroad (Byrd, 6). Unable to withstand the constant assaults of their northern enemies, the two western tribes abandoned their villages and removed (some time between 1671 and 1701) to the junction of the Staunton and the Dan, where they established themselves adjoining their friends and kinsmen the Occaneechi, whose history thenceforth merges into theirs. The Occaneechi, of whom more will be said later, although now themselves reduced by the common enemy, had been an important tribe They occupied at this time a beautiful island about 4 miles long, called by their tribal name, lying in the Roanoke a short distance below the forks of the stream, in what is now Mecklenburg county, Virginia. Above and below Occaneechi island, in the same stream, were two other islands, of nearly equal size. The Saponi settled on the lower of these, while the Tutelo took possession of the upper one just at the confluence of the two rivers. How long they remained there is not definitely known, but it is evident they were not able to hold their position, even with the river on all sides as a protecting barrier, for in 1701 all three tribes were far down in Carolina uniting their decimated forces and preparing to remove into the English settlements. They may have been driven from their position on the Roanoke by that general Indian upheaval, resulting from the conquest of the Conestoga or Susquehanna by the Iroquois about 1675, which culminated in Virginia in the Bacon rebellion. In 1733 Byrd visited the islands, and found tall grass growing in the abandoned fields. On the Tutelo island he found a cave where, according to his story, "the last Tetero king," with only two men, had defended himself against a large party of Iroquois and at last forced them to retire (Byrd, 7).

After Lederer and Batts, the next definite information comes from John Lawson, the surveyor-general of North Carolina. With a small party he left Charleston, South Carolina, on December 28, 1700, and, after ascending Santee and Wateree rivers to the Catawba country, struck across and came out about seven weeks later on Pamlico river in North Carolina. A considerable portion of his journey was along the great Indian trail and trader's route, known to the Virginia traders as the Occaneechi or Catawba path, which extended from Bermuda Hundred, on James river, in Virginia, to Augusta, Georgia. He had

intended to follow this trail to Virginia, but was obliged to leave it at the Occaneechi village (near the present site of Hillsboro, North Carolina), and turn southeastward on account of the alarm created by a fresh inroad of the dreaded Iroquois.

While stopping at the village of the Waxhaw on a small eastern tributary of the Catawba, just within the limits of South Carolina, a messenger arrived from the Saponi to arrange some tribal business with the Waxhaw. The visitor had his entire face painted with vermilion, and carried a cutlass in his belt and a gun in his hand. His coming was celebrated that night by a masquerade dance, to which Lawson and his party were invited.

Continuing on his journey, in the course of which he found several fresh reminders of the Iroquois in the shape of stone heaps erected to commemorate several of their victims slain near the path, he arrived at last at the Saponi village, situated on Yadkin river, in the nighborhood of the present Salisbury, North Carolina. Lawson calls the stream Sapona, and incorrectly supposed it to be a branch of Cape Fear river. The name is still retained in connection with a small village a few miles northeast of Salisbury in Davidson county. He has much to say of the beauty of the stream, making constant music as it rippled over its rocky bed in unison with the songs of innumerable birds on the hills round about. He declares that all Europe could not afford a pleasanter stream, and describes the surrounding country as delicious, leaving nothing to be desired by a contented mind.

He found the people as friendly as the location was agreeable, and rested there several days as the special guest of the chief, who had lost an eye in defense of an English trader, and who added to his dignity as a chief the sacred character of a medicine-man. While here the Englishmen were well entertained with feasting and presents of game and medical dissertations by one of the Indian doctors. Near the village they noticed several stone sweat-houses, which were in frequent use, especially for rheumatic pains due to exposure in the woods.

From one of the Totero with whom he talked at this village he found that a powder made from the so-called bezoar stone, a hairy concretion sometimes found in the stomach of the deer and other ruminants, was in great repute among their hunters, who believed that when blown into the eyes it strengthened the sight.

The Saponi had recently taken prisoner several "Sinnagers" (Iroquois), whom they were preparing to burn when Lawson arrived. The burning was to be by the horrible splinter torture, in which the body of the victim was stuck full of pine splinters, which were then lighted like so many candles, while the sufferer was compelled to dance around a fire until his strength failed and he fell, when the tomahawk put an end to his agony. A ceremonial feast was always an accompaniment of the tragedy. Before the burning, however, some "Toteros" (Tutelo) came down from their tribe living in the neighboring mountains toward the west, probably about the headwaters of the Yadkin, and asked posses-

sion of the prisoners in order to send them home to their own people in the north, in return for a generous act of the Iroquois who had some time before captured some Totero and, instead of killing them by torture in the usual fashion, had treated them kindly and then released them to go back to their friends, with the parting message that by such conduct they might hope to bring about a permanent peace. The matter was debated by the Saponi, who finally delivered the prisoners to the Totero to be by them conducted back to their home in the north. They repented of their kindness, however, a night or two later, when a terrible storm nearly blew down the village, all owing, so the chief said, to the devil's anger because they had not put the prisoners to death. However, as the chief was a priest as well as a king, he ran out into the storm and began his conjurations at a great rate, and, said Lawson, "I thought he would have been blown away or killed before the devil and he could have exchanged half a dozen words; but in two minutes the wind was ceased and it became as great a calm as ever I knew in my life"—evidently the first Carolina cyclone on record.

Lawson described the Totero as tall and robust, which he ascribes to their plentiful diet of buffalo, elk, and bear meat. This agrees with Lederer's account of the Nahyssan thirty years before. By this time (1701) the Saponi and Tutelo had been driven entirely out of Virginia, where Lederer and Batts had found them in 1670–'71, and had become so reduced in numbers that they were then combining with the Keyauwee, Occaneechi, and Shoccoree—all five tribes numbering together only about 750 souls—and were moving into the neighborhood of the Carolina settlements to escape their enemies from the north (Lawson, 3). Hale is in error in supposing from Lawson's narrative that the Tutelo and Saponi in 1701 had found shelter from the Iroquois by placing between themselves and their destroyers the "living rampart" of the Tuskarora. The error grows out of Lawson's supposition that Sapona river is identical with the Cape Fear, while, as a matter of fact, he had in mind the Yadkin; and the Tutelo and Saponi were then at least a hundred miles west of the Tuskarora and in the direct line of the Iroquois war parties sent out against the Catawba. As the Tuskarora were friends and kinsmen of the Iroquois, who made their villages a resting place on these southern incursions, the smaller tribes had nothing to expect from them until the war, a few years later, had broken the power of the Tuskarora and rendered them dependent on the whites.

In regard to the location on the Yadkin of the Saponi and their allied tribes and to the causes of their removal from that stream, Byrd in 1728 says:

> They dwelt formerly not far below the Mountains, upon Yadkin River, about 200 Miles West and by South from the Falls of Roanoak. But about 25 Years ago they took Refuge in Virginia, being no longer in condition to make Head not only against the Northern Indians, who are their Implacable enemies, but also against most of those to the South. All the Nations round about, bearing in mind the Havock these Indians us'd formerly to make among their Ancestors in the Insolence of their Power, did at

length avenge it Home upon them, and made them glad to apply to this Government for protection (Byrd, 8).

As there will be frequent occasion to refer to Lawson's narrative, his route, which has been the subject of much misapprehension, may be described in some detail. His own guesses are often misleading, as much of the country through which he passed was still unexplored, and he constantly confounded the numerous large streams met with in the interior with the two or three with which he was acquainted along the coast. Starting from Charleston, South Carolina, he went by water to the mouth of the Santee, which he ascended 20 or 30 miles to the French settlements. Then, taking the trail from Charleston, which came in near the present railroad crossing, he followed the eastern side of Santee, Wateree, and Catawba rivers, passing in succession through the territories of the Sewee, Santee, Congaree, Wateree, and Waxhaw tribes, until he came to the Catawba (Esaw and Kadapaw) on the boundary between South Carolina and North Carolina. Here he took the great trading path from Virginia to Georgia and followed it into North Carolina as far as the Occaneechi village, about the present Hillsboro, North Carolina. On this part of the journey he encountered the Sugeree, Saponi, Keyauwee, and Occaneechi, and crossed several rivers and smaller streams. His "Sapona" river, supposed by him to be a branch of the Cape Fear, is the Yadkin, which he crossed at the traders' ford near the site of Salisbury. Here was the Saponi village, the name being still commemorated in a small station on the northern side of the river. His "Rocky river," miles farther on, is probably Abbott creek, and his "Haw or Reatkin" is the Haw, which he forded about at the present railroad crossing at Graham. In fact, the Richmond and Danville railroad from Hillsboro, North Carolina, through Greensboro, Salisbury, and Charlotte, into South Carolina, is laid out almost exactly on the line of the old Occaneechi trail along which Lawson traveled. It is evident that he was not aware of the existence of the Yadkin or Pedee as a distinct stream, as in crossing it he supposes it to be a branch of Cape Fear river, and later on confounds it under the name of "Reatkin" with the Haw or main upper portion of the same stream. At the Occaneechi village near Hillsboro, commemorated in the "Occaneeche hills" at that town, he left the trading path and struck off in a southeasterly direction toward the English settlements on the coast. His general course was down along the western bank of Eno and Neuse rivers until he crossed over to the northern bank about the falls near the railroad crossing at Wake Forest, where he entered the territory of the Tuskarora. He then continued down between the main Neuse and the Cotentney, probably passing near the site of Goldsboro, until he turned northward and crossed the latter stream about the present railroad crossing at Grifton, afterward continuing across the Tar or Pamlico at Greenville or lower down, and finally coming out at the English settlements on Pamlico river around the present Wash-

ington and Bath. Although it is not an easy matter to follow these old explorers through an unnamed and unsurveyed country, the problem is simplified if it is remembered that the principal Indian settlements, even though successively abandoned and reoccupied through the constant shifting of tribes, were usually situated in the most favorable locations for the future cities of the whites, and as the principal trails naturally followed the best lines of travel between these Indian settlements the wagon roads of the early settlers, and afterward the railroads, were laid out nearly on the same lines.

Soon after Lawson's visit in 1701 the Saponi and Tutelo left their villages on the Yadkin and moved in toward the settlements, being joined on the way by the Occaneechi and their allied tribes. The name of Saponi creek, near Nashville, North Carolina, probably indicates the line of this eastward migration. Together they crossed the Roanoke, evidently before the Tuskarora war of 1711, and made a new settlement, called "Sapona Town," a short distance east of that river and about 15 miles westward from the present Windsor in Bertie county, North Carolina. For information in regard to this settlement, which appears to have escaped the notice of historians, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr E. W. Pugh, of Windsor, to one of whose ancestors the land in question was deeded by the last remaining of the Tuskarora on their removal to New York. That tribe lived originally along the waters of the Neuse, and did not occupy this territory until after the Tuskarora war, when, in 1717, that portion of the tribe which had remained friendly was settled north of the Roanoke in Bertie county. From a reference in a document of 1711, shortly after the outbreak of the Tuskarora war, it appears probable that the Saponi were already established there in 1711 (N. C. R., 1). In the next year the government of North Carolina took steps to engage their help against the hostile Tuskarora, leaving the Saponi to make their own terms, and promising to provide for their families in the meantime if they would remove into the settlements, which at that time were confined to the northern shore of Albemarle sound (N. C. R., 2). As they evidently had no reason to love the Tuskarora it is probable that this invitation was accepted, for a few months later it was proposed to get the assistance of the Saponi in cutting off the retreat of the hostiles on the north. It was believed that the Nottoway and Meherrin, who were of the Iroquoian stock, could not be trusted for such service. The negotiation was left to Virginia, whose energetic governor, Spotswood, possessed almost boundless influence over all the tribes of that neighborhood (N. C. R., 3).

From all accounts it appears that there was always bad feeling between the Saponi and their confederates on the one side and the Tuskarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin—all Iroquoian tribes—on the other, after they became near neighbors, so that it required the constant effort of the English to adjust their quarrels and prevent them from killing one another. In 1709 the Saponi chief complained that the Nottoway and Tuskarora had killed two of his people. On this the

Nottoway replied that the Saponi had killed three of theirs and wounded two others not long before, and they thought it reasonable that they as well as the Saponi should have satisfaction. Then the Saponi proposed, according to the Indian custom, that the Nottoway should pay for the two murdered Saponi, which the Nottoway agreed to do provided the Saponi would pay for the three Nottoway, on which the disgusted judge to whom they had come told them that if they would make such bargains among themselves he would have nothing to say, but it was not in the white people's law to sell men's lives for money. The Saponi then tried to shift the blame upon the Tutelo, but the Nottoway answered that they were both as one people, and further stated that they had some time ago paid the Saponi a quantity of wampum to help them exterminate the Tutelo; but that the false Saponi, after taking the wampum, had broken their promise and privately warned the Tutelo of the designs of their enemies. To settle the whole matter the Nottoway proposed that if the Saponi would fulfill their agreement and join them against the Tutelo, they (the Nottoway) would not only let them keep the wampum, but would also pay them for the two men killed. The Saponi chief promised to take the matter under consideration and returned home, while the judge wrote to the Virginia government that if a Tuskarora was delivered up to be killed by the Saponi some English lives would certainly pay for it (V. S. P., 1).

About this time the Saponi, Tutelo, and confederated tribes removed from North Carolina through the persuasions of Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, who settled them near Fort Christanna, 10 miles north of Roanoke river, about the present Gholsonville, in Brunswick county, Virginia. Their village was close to Meherrin river, and the name of Totaro district, south of Meherrin river and southeast of Lawrenceville, in Brunswick county, preserves their memory. The exact date of this removal does not appear, but it was probably shortly after the opening of the Tuskarora war, which began with the general massacre of September 22, 1711. Spotswood's object in procuring their removal to the fort was to draw away the Saponi and their confederates from an alliance with the hostile tribes and to make them a barrier between the latter and the Virginia settlements, as well as to render the Saponi more secure from the attacks of the Iroquois. The name of Saponi creek and chapel, in Dinwiddie county, dating back at least to 1733, indicates that they sometimes extended their excursions north of Nottoway river. They gained nothing, however, by their removal to Fort Christanna, for by so doing they became embroiled in constant quarrels with the neighboring Nottoway and Meherrin and with the remnant of the Tuskarora on Roanoke river, while their old enemies, the Iroquois, still continued their attacks, even after they had agreed to make peace, in 1722 (N. C. R., 4). There is evidence that the refugee Tuskarora who had fled to New York had a great deal to do with instigating the Iroquois to these outrages.

As is always the case when wild tribes come in contact with civilization, the result was rapid degradation through the work of unprincipled white men, who aided in their destruction by debauching their morals and ruining their systems with liquor, resulting in continual quarreling and bloodshed.

The one bright spot in the darkening history of the dying tribes is the effort made by Governor Spotswood to have their children educated, but this also ended in failure, as seems to be the fate of every attempt at making the Indian a white man. During the war with the Tuskarora, in 1711–1712, this energetic and benevolent Virginia governor conceived the idea of securing the fidelity of the smaller tribes and advancing their younger generation in civilization by putting the children of the chiefs into the college established for the purpose at Williamsburg by Mr Boyle. In this way he hoped to accomplish lasting good results for the Indians, while at the same time securing hostages for their good behavior. He also sent a schoolmaster to the Saponi, at an annual salary of 50 pounds, to instruct their children. For this purpose he selected Charles Griffin, described as "a man of a good family, who, by the innocence of his life, and the sweetness of his temper, was perfectly well qualify'd for the pious undertaking. Besides, he had so much the secret of mixing pleasure with instruction, that he had not a scholar, who did not love him affectionately." So gentle a worker could hardly fail to accomplish good, but in the midst of his labor he was called away to the college and the Saponi were left to their original barbarism, so that the only result of his teaching was to make them somewhat cleaner in habit than other Indians (Byrd, 9).

Notwithstanding their vicinity to the whites, the Saponi were still subjected to the inroads of the Iroquois, even under the guns of Fort Christanna. In April, 1717, a party of Catawba and others of the smaller tribes of South Carolina, who had been engaged in the Yamasi war, arrived at the fort to conclude a peace and leave a number of their children to be educated as a pledge of their good faith. While camped outside the fort, having previously delivered up their arms to the commander, they were attacked during the night by a party of Iroquois who killed five and carried off a number of prisoners, including the chief of the Catawba. From one of the prisoners who made his escape it was learned that the Iroquois had come down to surprise the Saponi, and that they threatened to return in a short time and massacre the whole tribe, with any of the whites who might be disposed to befriend them. On being called to account for this outrage by the English representatives at Albany, the Iroquois claimed that the Catawba themselves, whom also they called Toderichroone, had acted treacherously three years before in killing five of their men while asleep, the night after they had made a treaty of peace. They declared that all the Indians in those southern parts had been for a long time the enemies of the Iroquois, who had such hatred against them that they had even taken them prisoners out of the very houses of the Christians.

In conclusion they asserted that the report that they intended to attack the Saponi or the whites of Virginia was false, and that they desired to be friends of the English and of their Indian allies, and proposed that commissioners might be sent from Virginia to meet them at Albany and conclude a firm and lasting peace (N. Y., 9).

As a result of this mutual desire for peace a conference was held at Albany, New York, in September, 1722, which was attended by representatives of the Five Nations of Iroquois, with their allies, the Tuskarora, Shawnee, and others, then living on the Susquehanna, and by the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, including Governor Spotswood himself. A treaty was there concluded between the Iroquois and their allies on the one side, and Virginia and her tributary Indians, including those of Carolina, on the other, by which an end was made to the exterminating warfare that had so long been waged between the northern and southern tribes; and the Potomac and Blue ridge were made the boundaries between the two parties. The Iroquois agreed that in their southern excursions they would keep within the mountains and would not cross the Potomac or come beyond the Blue ridge without the knowledge and consent of Virginia, and Governor Spotswood, on behalf of the southern tribes, promised that they would not go beyond the same boundaries to the northward without the same permission. To render the agreement more binding, Spotswood made it a provision of the treaty that any of the Iroquois who were found within the proscribed limits without authority should be hanged or transported as slaves. To this hard condition the Five Nations willingly consented, but magnanimously declared for themselves that should they meet any of the southern tribes on the northern side of the boundary they would give them food and treat them as friends, in order that peace might remain assured. It is clear that the Iroquois had some rudimentary philanthropy not learned from the whites.

The Virginia tribes for whom Governor Spotswood particularly engaged are named as "The Nottoways, Meherins, Nanemonds, Pamunkeys, Chichominys, and the Christanna Indians whom you call Todirichroones that we comprehend under the name, the Saponies, Ochineeches, Stenkenocks, Meipontskys and Toteroes, all the forenamed Indians having their present settlements on the east side of the high ridge of mountains and between the two great rivers of Potomack and Roanoke" (N. Y., 10). Although small parties several times violated the agreement then made, the Iroquois as a body always respected it, and the long war which they had waged against the Virginia tribes thus came to an end. The Shawano and other tribes of Ohio valley, however, kept up their raids on the Catawba to the close of the French and Indian war.

In 1728 (1729 by an error in the Byrd manuscript) the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina was run by commissioners and surveyors from each colony. William Byrd was the chief commissioner for Virginia and has left us a valuable account of their advent-

ures, told in the rarest and raciest old English. For guides and hunters they engaged two Saponi Indians from Fort Christanna, Saponi, be it remembered, being used as a collective designation for all the Siouan tribes there established. One of the two became sick and returned, but the other, whose name was Bearskin, accompanied them and proved most excellent company, keeping them well supplied with meat all the way to the foothills and back again. This same Bearskin as much deserves a monument as did the old Cornish woman, for upon him depends nearly all that we have of the language and folklore of the Saponi tribe. As they advanced slowly westward along the line, cutting through thickets, wading swamps, and fording rivers, he told them the name of each stream in turn in his own language, with the meaning in English. Sitting around the camp-fire at night he taught them the secrets of the woods and the things of the spirit world. The few words of his language which we thus obtain are unmistakably Siouan, and although we can not be sure that they are really Saponi and not Tutelo, we have the concurrent assertion of every authority from Lederer and Byrd down to old Nikonha, the last of the Tutelo, that the language of both was the same, with no more than a dialectic difference.

Among the local names which Bearskin gave are Moni-seep or "shallow-water," the ford where the trading path crossed the Roanoke nearly due north of Warrenton, North Carolina; Massa-moni or "paint creek," so called on account of the red ocher which lined its banks, now Island creek, joining the Roanoke south of Boydton, Virginia; Yapatsco or Yatapsco, "beaver creek," so called on account of a high beaver dam built across it; Ohimpa-moni, "jumping creek," so named on account of the jumping of the fish there during the spring (probably identical with Grassy creek); Tewawho-mini, or "Tuskarora creek," so called because a Tuskarora had been killed there and his body thrown into the water (identical with Aaron creek); and Hico-oto-moni, or "turkey-buzzard river," so called from the great numbers of buzzards that roosted in the trees in its neighborhood (now known as Hyco or Hycootee river). In these names the *moni* or *mini* is the same word *mini*, "water" (in Tutelo *mani*), which appears in the Dakota names Mini-sota "cloudy water," and Mini-haha, "laughing water." *Massa*, here rendered paint, or ocher, is probably the generic term for mineral or metal, which appears in the Dakota language as *maⁿza*, in Tutelo as *mas* or *maⁿs*, and in Biloxi as *masi*. The word for beaver, which is embodied in the name Yapatsco, is *yaop* in Tutelo, *chapa* in Dakota, and *shapé* in Osage. In the North Carolina records the name is spelled Yapatio, which is probably nearer the true form of Yapa-tio, "beaver lodge." *Hega* in Omaha and *hecha* in Dakota is a buzzard, and *tipi* or *ti* is a house or lodge, so that Hico-oto-moni would be in Dakota, if used in that language, Hecha-oti-mini, "buzzard lodge water." In Tutelo and Biloxi the word for house is *ati*. Moni-seep, the name of the ford, appears in the Carolina records as Mony Shap. In the Dakota language *chopa*, and in the cognate Kansa *jupshe*, signify to ford. Two other words mentioned,

evidently also of the Saponi language, are *maosti*, "turkey-cock beard," and *cohunks*, "wild goose," the latter being an onomatope (Byrd, 10). In the journal of the same expedition, as printed in the North Carolina Colonial Records, the names sometimes appear in slightly different form through misprints or carelessness in the original writing (N. C. R., 5).

From Byrd and his Saponi informant several little points in regard to Indian habit and belief are obtained. Although not always definitely so stated, the references are usually intended to apply to the Saponi and their associated tribes, the Tutelo, Occaneechi, and others at Fort Christanna.

Fire was made by rubbing together two dry sticks of papaw wood, the process requiring about ten minutes. On the occasion of any religious ceremony new fire was always made for the purpose from two sticks which had never before been used, as it was deemed a sacrilege to use the fire already kindled. From the fiber of a kind of "silk grass" the women made a strong thread from which they wove baskets and the aprons which formed the chief part of the woman's dress. These aprons or skirts were wrapped round the body and hung from the waist to the knee, bordered with a fringe at the bottom. Spoons were made of buffalo horn, and the Indians believed that these spoons would split and fall to pieces if poison were put into them. Skins were dressed with deer's brains, a method which the English learned to pattern, and the skin was sometimes stretched over a smoke to dry it more speedily. They annointed their bodies with bear's grease as a protection against mosquitos and all other insects. A diet of bear's meat was supposed to increase the generative power. It was believed that venison and turkey (i. e., the flesh of birds and of quadrupeds) must never be cooked together, on penalty of provoking the anger of the hunting gods, who would drive the game away so that the offending hunter would never be able to kill anything afterward. When the party laughed at Bearskin's fears on this score and deliberately violated the tabu to convince him that he was in error, he took the precaution afterward when he had shot a buck and a wild turkey together, of leaving the turkey behind and bringing only the deer into camp, in order to put such a sacrilege out of their power. They justified their laying of the heavier burdens on the weaker sex by a tradition that work had originally come upon the human race through some fault of the woman (Byrd, 9).

The general statement of the Saponi belief in regard to the spirit world, as obtained from Bearskin in a Sunday night talk around the fire, is best told in the language of Byrd himself, always making liberal allowance for the preconceived notions of a white man who did not claim to be an ethnologist. The transmigration idea here set forth agrees with what Lederer says of the same people:

> In the evening we examin'd our friend Bearskin, concerning the religion of his country, and he explain'd it to us, without any of that reserve to which his nation is subject. He told us he believ'd there was one supreme God, who had several sub-

altern deities under him. And that this master-God made the world a long time ago. That he told the sun, the moon, and stars, their business in the beginning, which they, with good looking after, have faithfully perform'd ever since. That the same power that made all things at first has taken care to keep them in the same method and motion ever since. He believ'd God had form'd many worlds before he form'd this, but that those worlds either grew old and ruinous, or were destroyed for the dishonesty of the inhabitants.

That God is very just and very good—ever well pleas'd with those men who possess those God-like qualities. That he takes good people into his safe protection, makes them very rich, fills their bellies plentifully, preserves them from sickness, and from being surpriz'd or overcome by their enemies. But all such as tell lies, and cheat those they have dealings with, he never fails to punish with sickness, poverty and hunger. and, after all that, suffers them to be knockt on the head and scalpt by those that fight against them.

He believ'd that after death both good and bad people are conducted by a strong guard into a great road, in which departed souls travel together for some time, till at a certain distance this road forks into two paths, the one extremely levil, and the other stony and mountainous. Here the good are parted from the bad by a flash of lightening, the first being hurry'd away to the right, the other to the left. The right hand road leads to a charming warm country, where the spring is everlasting, and every month is May; and as the year is always in its youth, so are the people, and particularly the women are bright as stars, and never scold. That in this happy climate there are deer, turkeys, elks, and buffaloes innumerable, perpetually fat and gentle, while the trees are loaded with delicious fruit quite throughout the four seasons. That the soil brings forth corn spontaneously, without the curse of labour, and so very wholesome, that none who have the happiness to eat of it are ever sick, grow old, or dy. Near the entrance into this blessed land sits a venerable old man on a mat richly woven, who examines strictly all that are brought before him, and if they have behav'd well, the guards are order'd to open the crystal gate, and let them enter into the land of delights.

The left hand path is very rugged and uneaven, leading to a dark and barren country, where it is always winter. The ground is the whole year round cover'd with snow, and nothing is to be seen upon the trees but icicles. All the people are hungry, yet have not a morsel of anything to eat, except a bitter kind of potato, that gives them the dry-gripes, and fills their whole body with loathsome ulcers, that stink, and are insupportably painfull. Here all the women are old and ugly, having claws like a panther, with which they fly upon the men that slight their passion. For it seems these haggard old furies are intolerably fond, and expect a vast deal of cherishing. They talk much, and exceedingly shrill, giving exquisite pain to the drum of the ear, which in that place of the torment is so tender, that every sharp note wounds it to the quick. At the end of this path sits a dreadful old woman on a monstrous toad-stool, whose head is cover'd with rattle-snakes instead of tresses, with glaring white eyes, that strike a terror unspeakable into all that behold her. This hag pronounces sentence of woe upon all the miserable wretches that hold up their hands at her tribunal. After this they are deliver'd over to huge turkey-buzzards, like harpys, that fly away with them to the place above mentioned. Here, after they have been tormented a certain number of years, according to their several degrees of guilt, they are again driven back into this world, to try if they will mend their manners, and merit a place the next time in the regions of bliss.

This was the substance of Bearskin's religion, and was as much to the purpose as cou'd be expected from a meer state of nature, without one glimps of revelation or philosophy (Byrd 12).

On their return from the mountains their guide left them as they approached the settlements and hurried on ahead. As the commissioners drew near Meherrin river all the chiefs of the Saponi came out

to meet them, and among them was their old friend Bearskin, dressed in all his ceremonial finery. The whole party was on horseback, which was evidently in greater honor of the occasion, as the distance from the village was only 3 miles, and, as Batts says, they had probably walked as far on foot to catch their horses. But these timber Indians were very different from the free rangers of the plains, for the traveler declares that they rode more awkwardly than a Dutch sailor. With them came several women, who rode man-fashion, as do the women of all the tribes. The men are described as having something great and venerable in their countenances, beyond the common mien of savages, which agreed with their reputation as the most honest and brave Indians the Virginians had ever known. Anyone familiar with the facial type and bearing of the Sioux or Osage will understand what it was that struck the observer so forcibly in the appearance of these Saponi.

Continuing, the traveler says:

> This people is now made up of the remnant of several other nations, of which the most considerable are the Sapponys, the Occaneches, and Steukenhocks, who not finding themselves separately numerous enough for their defence, have agreed to unite into one body, and all of them now go under the name of the Sapponys. Each of these was formerly a distinct nation, or rather a several clan or canton of the same nation, speaking the same language, and using the same customs. But their perpetual wars against all other Indians, in time, reduc'd them so low as to make it necesssary to join their forces together (Byrd, 8).

He goes on to tell how, about twenty-five years ago, they had fled from the Yadkin and taken refuge in Virginia, where Governor Spotswood, having a good opinion of their courage and fidelity, had settled them at Fort Christanna as a barrier against the attacks of other foreign Indians upon the settlements. His purpose was defeated, however, by the debauchery wrought among them by the whites, resulting in many disorders and culminating at last in a murder committed by one of their chiefs while drunk, and for which he was hanged after he had become sober. The ignominious manner of his death angered his people exceedingly, largely from an idea, common to other tribes, that the soul of the dead person, being prevented by this mode of execution from leaving the body by the mouth, must necessarily be defiled. Some of the Indians took the matter so much to heart that they soon after left their settlement and moved in a body to the Catawba tribe. Byrd says that those who thus removed to the south were the Saponi proper, but this is certainly a mistake if intended to apply to the whole tribe. It is more probable that they were the Eno or the Keyauwee, or perhaps the Sara, the two former of whom had joined the Saponi and Tutelo about 1701, but were afterwards found incorporated with the Catawba, with whom also the Sara had confederated. He states also that the daughter of the Tutelo chief went away with them, but being the last of her nation, and fearing that she would not receive the treatment due her rank, she poisoned herself with the root of the trumpet

plant. Her father, who had died two years before, had been a noted warrior who had made himself terrible to all other Indians by his exploits, and had escaped so many dangers that he seemed invulnerable, but died at last of an illness, "the last man of his race and nation" (Byrd, 13). This is the same Tutelo chief previously mentioned as having defended himself so valiantly against the Iroquois on an island in the Roanoke, but he was by no means the last of his race, as our author supposed.

In regard to the hanging of this Saponi chief and the general interference of the whites in the quarrels of the Indians, additional information is gathered from a document of 1728. From this it appears that some Saponi delegates went to the Catawba to bring back a hundred of them to demand satisfaction of the English for imprisoning their men. They also threatened that if a certain Captain Tom was hanged they would remove their women and children across the Roanoke and would then drive the whites beyond the James. Another one told the white man that the English had no business to come to the fort to concern themselves about the Indians killing one another (V. S. P., 2).

Being restless and dissatisfied at the vicinity of the whites, and having now made peace with the Iroquois, the Saponi and Tutelo, with other confederated tribes, resolved to follow the example set by the Tuskarora and put themselves under the protection of the Iroquois in the north. Accordingly they abandoned their settlement near Fort Christanna and removed from Virginia into Pennsylvania, and by permission of the Iroquois established themselves at the Indian village of Shamokin on both banks of the Susquehanna just below the forks, where now is the town of Sunbury. The village was composed of the remnants of the Nanticoke and Conoy, with some Delaware, who, like the later immigrants, after having been driven out of their own country and impoverished by contact with the whites, had been received under the protection of the Iroquois and assigned lands within their territory. The exact date of this removal northward can not be given, but it must have been about 1740. It was probably a gradual movement by small parties, extending over a period of several years. The immediate cause was doubtless the dissatisfaction growing out of the hanging of one of their chiefs by the Virginians about 1728. From a casual French reference it seems probable that they were still in the south in 1736 (N. Y., 11). The Occaneechi probably accompanied them, while the Eno, Keyauwee, and Sara went southward and joined the Catawba.

In 1745 missionary David Brainerd visited Shamokin, which then contained about 300 Indians, of whom half were Delaware and the remainder Seneca and Tutelo (Hale, 4), under which latter name he included all the emigrants from Fort Christanna. It is not certain, however, that all the Tutelo and Saponi were congregated at this village. The three tribes named as making up this small community spoke languages radically different. Three years later another missionary, David Zeisberger, passed through the same region and found

the Tutelo, or a part of them, living farther up the northern branch of the Susquehanna at a village called Skogari, in what is now Columbia county, Pennsylvania. He describes it as "the only town on the continent inhabited by Tuteloes, a degenerate remnant of thieves and drunkards" (Hale, 5). Two generations of civilization had evidently changed them from the honest and brave men described by Lederer and Lawson.

In 1753 the Cayuga formally adopted the Tutelo and Saponi, who thus became a part of the Six Nations. The measure was approved by Sir William Johnson, the English representative (N. Y., 12). At the same time the Oneida adopted the Nanticoke, as they had already received the Tuskarora. From this time the Tutelo and Saponi chiefs appear on equal terms with those of the Cayuga in the conclaves of the Iroquois league. In 1763 the Nanticoke and Conoy, with the "Tutecoes, Saponeys, ettc.," were reported by Johnson to number together 200 warriors (N. Y., 13). By "ettc." may perhaps be understood the Occaneechi.

The Tutelo and Saponi did not at once remove to the Cayuga. In 1765 the Saponi are mentioned as having 30 warriors, living at Tioga (about Sayre, Pennsylvania) and other villages on the northern branch of the Susquehanna, in connection with the Delaware and Munsee (Croghan, 1). A part of them may have remained at Tioga until its destruction in 1778, but in 1771 the principal portion had their village in the territory of the Cayuga, about 2 miles south of Cayuga lake and 2 miles south of the present Ithaca, New York. On the Guy Johnson map of 1771 it appears as Todevigh-rono (for Toderigh-rono); on another map of about the same date as Kayeghtalagealat; in Grant's journal of 1779 as Dehoriss-kanadia (apparently the Mohawk Tehoterigh-kanada, "Tutelo town"); and in Dearborn's journal as Coreorgonel (Hale, 6; N. Y., 14).

Then came the Revolution, which resulted in driving half the Iroquois into Canada. The Tutelo village, with those of the Cayuga and Seneca, was destroyed by Sullivan in 1779. Most of the Cayuga fled with Brant to Canada and were settled by the British government on a reservation assigned to the Six Nations on Grand river in Ontario, on the northern side of Lake Erie. The Tutelo went with them and built their village on what is now known as "Tutelo Heights," a suburb of Brantford, on the western bank of Grand river (Hale, 7).

The last surviving Tutelo told Hale in 1870 that when his people came to Canada with Brant they parted with the Saponi at Niagara, and what became of the Saponi afterward he did not know. He did know that the two tribes could understand each other's speech. It is possible to settle the question of the ultimate fate of the Saponi from the record of a treaty made with the New York Cayuga at Albany in 1789, in which it is stated that the "Paanese" (Sa-poonese), the "adopted brethren" of the Cayuga, were then living with them on their reservation, near Salt Spring, on Seneca river, in Seneca county,

New York (Hall, 1). It is barely possible that some of their descendants, retaining the language, may still be found among the Cayuga in New York.

About sixty years ago, says Hale, when Brantford was a frontier hamlet, the Tutelo cabins were scattered over these heights, having in the center the "long house" wherein their councils were held and their festivals celebrated. They numbered then about 200 souls, and from all accounts were a jovial, uproarious lot, quite different from the sedate Iroquois among whom they lived. Nearer to the white settlements than the others, they sunk still lower into dissipation, until their systems had become so enfeebled that they became a prey to disease. When the cholera swept over the country in 1832 it carried off the greater portion of the tribe, and a second visitation in 1848 completed their destruction. The few survivors took refuge among the Cayuga and the Tutelo tribe ceased to exist. In 1870 only one full-blood Tutelo remained. This venerable remnant of a nation was said, when discovered by Hale in the year named, to be the oldest man on the reservation. He believed himself to be considerably over a hundred, and was a pensioner of the war of 1812. His memory went back to a time before the Revolution when his people were living together with the Saponi and the Patshenin (Occaneechi?). His Cayuga name was "Old Mosquito;" his Tutelo name was Waskiteng. Hale describes him as having "a wrinkled, smiling countenance, a high forehead, half-shut eyes, white hair, a scanty, stubbly beard, fingers bent with age like a bird's claws," but withal a man of marked intelligence and much lively humor. His wife was a Cayuga and for many years he had spoken only that language, but he remembered well his own, and from him Hale obtained a sufficient vocabulary to establish the important discovery that the Tutelo is a Siouan tongue. This was published in the Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society in 1883, having been noted in the minutes of that society as early as 1879. Even on the threshold of his second century, the old man remembered that the tribes against whom the Tutelo had been most often at war had been the Tuskarora, Seneca, and Cayuga.

On a second visit to the reservation in October, 1870, Hale obtained some additional material from the old man, who died shortly after, in February, 1871, leaving none of full Tutelo blood behind. There are, however, several children of Tutelo mothers by Iroquois fathers still remaining, retaining their language and their name of Tutelo, according to the Indian law of descent through the female line. One of these (from whom other linguistic material was obtained) was even allowed to retain his seat in the councils of the league as the representative of the Tutelo, and to exercise the league privilege of making his address in the language of his tribe, after the tribe itself had disappeared (Hale, 7).

In 1882 Dorsey visited the Grand River reservation in Canada, but found then only two persons of Tutelo blood remaining and retaining

their language. From a letter obtained by him two or three years later, however, it appears that there was then at least one other Tutelo living somewhere else in Canada, probably with the Caughnawaga Mohawk or the Moravian Delaware, and still claiming title to lands in Virginia. As already stated there are probably a few Saponi still with the Cayuga in New York.

To this pitiful handful have come at last "the honestest and bravest Indians Virginia ever knew."

THE OCCANEECHI.

Synonymy.

Acconeechy.—Map of 1715; Winsor, History of America, 1887, vol. v, p. 346.
Achonechos.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint 1860, p. 384.
Achonechy.—Ibid., p. 93.
Aconeche.—Moll map, 1720.
Aconichi.—Alcedo, Diccionario Geog., 1786, vol. i, p. 19.
Acoonedy.—Vaugondy map, Partie de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1755 (misprint).
Akenatzy.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 2 (Latin pronunciation).
Akonichi.—Lotter map, about 1770.
Botshenins.—Hale, Proc. Am. Phil. Soc., 1883–84, vol. xxi, p. 10 (same? Tutelo form).
Ocameches.—Drake, Aboriginal Races, 1880, vol. ix (misprint).
Occaanechy.—Byrd (1728), Dividing Line, 1866, vol, i, p. 190.
Occaneches.—Ibid., p. 188.
Occaneeches.—Beverley, History of Virginia, 1722, p. 161.
Occaneechy.—Byrd, Dividing Line, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 8.
Ochineeches.—Albany Conference (1722) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. v, p. 663.
Ockinagee.—An anonymous writer of 1676; Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., 4th series, 1871, vol. ix, p. 167.
Okeneechee.—Batts (1671) in New York Col. Docs., 1853, vol. iii, p.193.
Oscameche.—Domenech, Deserts of North America, 1860, vol. i, p. 442 (misprint).
Patshenins.—Hale, Proc. Am. Phil. Soc., 1883–84, vol. xxi, p. 10 (same? Tutelo form).

The history of the Occaneechi is so closely interwoven with that of the Saponi and Tutelo that little remains to be said of them as a distinct tribe. Their history begins with Lederer's journey in 1670. After leaving the Saponi, who lived then, as has been stated, on a tributary of the Staunton, he went, as he says, about 50 miles south by west of the Saponi village and thus arrived next at the "Akenatzy" village (Latin pronunciation), situated on an island in another branch of Roanoke river. His estimate of the distance is too great, as usual, and the direction was rather east than west of south of the Saponi. There can be no question of the location of the Occaneechi village, as the island retained the name long after the tribe had abandoned it. It was on the middle and largest island, just below the confluence of the Staunton and the Dan, and just above the present Clarksville, Mecklenburg county, Virginia.

He described the island as small, though having a large population, well protected by natural defenses of a swift river current on all sides, with mountains or high hills round about. The fields of the Indians were on the northern bank of the river, and they raised immense crops

of corn, having always on hand a year's supply of provisions as a reserve in case of attack by hostile tribes. They were governed by two chiefs, one presiding in war, the other having charge of their hunting and agriculture. They held all property in common. Ceremonial feasting was an important feature of their daily life, each man in turn feasting his friends, the giver of the feast having the seat of honor between the two chiefs during the entertainment. Their tribal totem was a serpent.

Here Lederer met four strangers from a tribe living at two months' distance northwestward, being all that survived of a party of 50 who had started to visit the Occaneechi, the rest having been drowned in crossing a great water or having died later from hunger and exposure on the journey. While Lederer was stopping here six Rickohockan (Cherokee) also came down from the mountains farther westward to visit the Occaneechi, perhaps to arrange a treaty of peace between the two tribes. They were received with great show of friendship and a dance was arranged in their honor that night, but in the midst of the festivities the false Occaneechi suddenly darkened the place by means of smoke and murdered all the Rickohockan. This act of bloody treachery so frightened the traveler that he left secretly with his Indian companion and went on to the Oenock (Eno) territory (Lederer, 6).

It must have been shortly after the expedition of Batts in 1671 that the Saponi and Tutelo moved in and joined the Occaneechi, the Saponi fixing on an island just below and the Tutelo on another island just above the Occaneechi. From all accounts of the early travelers it must have been an ideal place for Indian settlement, with rich soil and fine timber on all three islands, and well defended from enemies by the river and from storms by the hills. Situated at the confluence of two large rivers, midway between the mountains and the sea, and between the tribes of Virginia and Carolina, the Occaneechi were an important people, if not a numerous one, and their island was the great trading mart, according to a writer of this period, "for all the Indians for at least 500 miles" (Mass., 1). Their language was the general trade language for all the tribes of that region—as Algonkin was in the north, as Mobilian was in the gulf states, and as Comanche is in the southern prairies—and was used by the medicine-men of the various tribes in all their sacred ceremonies, as Latin is by the priests of the Catholic church (Beverley, 5).

But their wealth proved their destruction. In 1676 the Susquehanna (Conestoga), who had been driven out from the head of Chesapeake bay by the combined attacks of the Iroquois and the English of Maryland and Virginia, fled to the Occaneechi, with whom they had long been on friendly terms. They were received by the latter but repaid the hospitality by endeavoring to dispossess their hosts. The result was a battle through which the Susquehanna were driven out of the island. At this juncture, in May, 1676, Bacon with 20 Virginians came up in pursuit of the Susquehanna and engaged the

assistance of the Occaneechi against their late ungrateful friends. The Occaneechi joined forces with the whites, and in the next encounter killed the Susquehanna chief and took a number of prisoners. The Virginians, however, had seen the rich stores of beaver skins in the village, and with a treachery equal to that of any savages, after having defeated the Susquehanna they turned upon the friendly Occaneechi. Over 50 of the Indians were killed, a terrible loss for an Indian tribe, but the Virginians were unable to force the palisades and were finally obliged to retire with considerable loss after a desperate battle, lasting the whole day (Mass., 2).

Although the Occaneechi had beaten off the Virginians, they felt themselves no longer secure in the vicinity of such treacherous neighbors, while their heavy loss rendered them less able to meet the increasing fury of the Iroquois attacks. It is probable also that they shared the general Indian dislike to remain in a location where their friends had died. They abandoned their beautiful island home and fled southward into Carolina. Nearly sixty years later some of the peach trees they had planted were still remaining in the old fields on the island (Byrd, 14).

Twenty-five years later (in 1701) Lawson found them pleasantly situated in a village on Eno river, about the present Hillsboro in Orange county, North Carolina, on the line of the great trading path to the Catawba already mentioned (the Occaneeche hills at this place still preserve their name). They were well supplied with provision of game, and received the traveler kindly, in spite of their former experience of the English. They were on good terms with all the neighboring tribes and had some little trade with the Tuskarora living lower down the Neuse, who were jealous of their dealings with the white traders. At this time they were much wasted and were consolidating with the other reduced tribes and moving in toward the settlements for greater security. Later on they combined with the Saponi, Tutelo, and others, the whole body numbering only about 750 souls (Lawson, 4).

They are next known (in 1722) as living in connection with the tribes just named at Fort Christanna, when Governor Spotswood made peace in their behalf with the Iroquois (N. Y., 15). Another incidental mention is made (Byrd, 15) of one of the tribe in the same neighborhood in 1729 (for 1728). This seems to be their last appearance in history. Their separate identity was lost and the remnant probably moved northward later on with the Saponi and Tutelo into Pennsylvania and afterward into New York. The last clew to their ultimate fate is contained in the statement made to Hale by the sole surviving Tutelo in 1870 that when he was a boy, probably just before the Revolution, the Saponi and "Patshenins," or "Botshenins" were living with his people, who were then located near the Cayuga tribe in New York. Although Hale did not inquire as to the language of these Patshenin, he is inclined to identify them with the Occaneechi (Hale, 8), and from all the circumstances this seems a probable supposition. If this be true, and they

are still in existence (they are not with the Six Nations in Canada), they must be with the Cayuga still on a reservation in the state of New York.

THE SARA AND KEYAUWEE.

Synonymy.

Characks.—Document of 1726 in N. Y. Col. Docs., 1855, vol. v, p. 793.
Charah.—Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., 1775, p. 224.
Charraws.—Glen (1751) in Gregg, Old Cheraws, 1867, p. 14.
Charrows.—Gregg, ibid., p. 1.
Chawraw.—Smyth, Tour in the United States, 1784, vol. i, p. 207.
Cheraw.—South Carolina Gazette (1739) in Gregg, Old Cheraws, p. 9.
Chouala.—De l'Isle map.
Chovala.—Shipp, De Soto and Florida, 1881, p. 366 (misprint).
Sara.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 2.
Saraus.—Map of 1715 in Winsor, History of America, 1887, vol. v, p. 346.
Saraws.—Virginia Council (1716) in Col. Records of N. C., 1886, vol. ii, p 247.
Sarraws.—Document of 1715 in ibid., p. 251.
Sasa.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 2 (form in Warrennuncock dialect).
Saura.—Vaugondy map, Partie de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1755.
Sauro.—Byrd (1733), Hist. Dividing Line, 1866, vol. ii, p. 20.
Sawara.—Gallatin in Trans. and Colls. Am. Antiq. Soc., 1836, vol. ii, p. 86.
Sawras.—Document of 1716 in Col. Records of N. C., vol. ii, p. 246.
Sawraw.—N. C. Records, vol. ii, Document of 1716; ibid, p. 243.
Sharawas.—Note in N. Y. Col. Docs., 1855, vol. v, p. 793.
Suala.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 2 (Spanish form).
Suali.—*Ani-Suali.*—Mooney (Cherokee singular and plural forms)
Sualy.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 2 (Warrennuncock form).
Swali.—Mooney (Cherokee form).
Xuala.—Garcilaso (1540) in La Florida del Inca, 1723, p. 135.
Xualla.—Elvas (1540) quoted in Shipp, De Soto and Florida, 1881, p. 366, note.

Keawe.—Jefferys, French Dominions in America, 1761, pt. i, map.
Keawee.—Bowen, Map of the British American Plantations, 1760.
Keeawawes.—Document of 1716 in Col. Records of N. C., 1886, p. 242.
Keeowaws.—Ibid., p. 243.
Keeowée.—Vaugondy map, Partie de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1755.
Keiauwees.—Lawson (1714), Hist. of Carolina, reprint 1860, p. 384.
Keomee.—Moll's map of Carolina, 1720 (misprint).
Kewawees.—Byrd (1733), History of the Dividing Line, 1866, vol. ii, p. 20.
Keyauwees.—Lawson (1714), Hist. of Carolina, reprint 1860, p. 83.
Keyawees.—Brickell, Natural History of North Carolina, 1737, p. 343.

THE SARA AND THEIR ALLIES.

While we know nothing positively as to the linguistic affinity of the Sara, all the evidence goes to show that, like most of the tribes of the central region of Virginia and Carolina, they were of Siouan stock. Their name is probably from the Catawba word *sara*, signifying a place of "tall grass or weeds" (Gatschet). While the Siouan tribes treated in the foregoing consolidated, after their decline, and joined the Iroquois in the north, most of the remaining people of that stock, including the

Sara, migrated southward and merged with the Catawba tribe in South Carolina.

The history of the Sara goes back to the earliest Spanish period. In 1540 De Soto, after leaving Cofachiqui (identified as Silver bluff on the Savannah, in Barnwell county, South Carolina), advanced along the border of the Chalaque (Cherokee) country, meeting several small villages of that tribe, and after traveling through a pleasant country for about 50 leagues, equal to about 150 miles, reached the province of "Xuala." (In writing Indian names the early Spanish authors used *x* as the equivalent of *sh;* Xuala of the Spaniards is Suala of Lederer, Suali of the Cherokee, and Saura and Cheraw of later writers.) From the narrative of Garcilaso the Sara must then have lived in the piedmont region about the present line between South Carolina and North Carolina, southeast of Asheville, North Carolina. On the De l'Isle map "Chouala" is marked west of the upper Santee. From personal investigation among the Cherokee I learn that the correct name of the Swannanoa gap through the Blue ridge, east of Asheville, is Suwali-Nû^{n}nâhi, or "Suwali trail," that being the pass through which ran the trail from the Cherokee to the Suwali, or Ani-Suwali, living east of the mountains. The name of the Suwali tribe is still familiar to the Cherokee yet living in North Carolina. Lederer in his narrative states that the tribe, which he usually calls Sara, was called Suala, Sualy, or Sasa in the "Warrennuncock" dialect (Lederer, 7). The interchange of *l* and *r*, it may be remarked, is one of the most common in Indian dialects.

Garcilaso in 1540 describes the village of Xuala as situated on the slope of a ridge in a pleasant hilly region, rich in corn and all the other vegetables of the country. In front of the village flowed a swift stream which formed the boundary between the Xuala tribe and that of Cofachiqui. This may have been either Broad river or the Pacolet. Both tribes are said to have been subject to the same queen, which, if true, would indicate that the Cofachiqui were perhaps of kindred stock and that even at this early period there was a close connection among the tribes which long afterward consolidated under the single name of the Catawba. After stopping here five days the Spaniards journeyed through a country of mountains and swift small streams into Guachule and thence down into Georgia. From the length of their stay it is evident that this first meeting between the Sara and the white race was a friendly one (Garcilaso, 1).

That the Sara were an important tribe is evident from the persistence of the name to a very late period. As they lay so far remote from the settlements and rather back from the general route of the traders, little was known of them by English settlers and travelers until after their removal into eastern South Carolina. It would probably be found, however, if the records could be searched, that De Soto was not the only Spanish leader who explored the country in search of gold in the early days of the colonization period. It was the jealous policy of

the Spanish government to keep the knowledge of such expeditions a secret; but from the vivid traditions still retained by the Cherokee of North Carolina, as recounted to the author, it is evident that the Spaniards made many expeditions into the mountains and carried on mining operations in different places during the period of their occupancy of Florida and the adjacent coast of Georgia and South Carolina.

The next visit to the Sara of which records are known was 130 years later than De Soto. In 1670 Lederer, after passing successively through the territories of the Saponi, Occaneechi, Eno, Shoccoree, and Wateree arrived among the Sara. He describes their village as being near the mountains, which at this point became lower and turned from their general southward or southwestward direction and veered westward. As the tribes next met by him were the Waxhaw and Catawba, it is evident that he found the Sara about where De Soto had found them in 1540. He states that the neighboring mountains were called Sara, which the Spaniards made Suala—another evidence of Spanish presence in this upper region. Beyond the mountains, west and north of the Sara, lived the Rickohockan (Cherokee). From these mountains the Sara got quantities of cinnabar, which they used as paint. They had also cakes of white salt. As the Cherokee and gulf tribes generally used no salt, and no considerable salt deposits were found in their country, it is probable that the Sara obtained their supply from the Mohetan or some other tribe farther northward. Lederer made no long stay with the tribe, perhaps, as already stated, on account of having become involved in a dispute with a youthful savage, who attempted to shoot the traveler's horse and when prevented turned his attentions to the traveler himself (Lederer, 8).

Some time after this the Sara removed northward and settled on Dan river. This removal may have been due to the incursions of the Spaniards, as a document of 1654 indicates that the Eno, living then in central North Carolina, were doing their utmost to check the northern advance of the Spaniards (Hawks, 1). As early as 1673, and perhaps earlier, the Sara had acquaintance with English traders from Virginia (Byrd, 16). Their village was on the southern bank of the Dan, shortly below the entrance of Irvin (Smith) river from the opposite side, and about due north of the present Wentworth in Rockingham county, North Carolina. Their fields extended along both banks of the river for several miles below the village. Byrd, who visited the site in 1733, thus describes it:

> It must have been a great misfortune to them to be oblig'd to abandon so beautiful a dwelling, where the air is wholesome, and the soil equal in fertility to any in the world. The river is about 80 yards wide, always confin'd within its lofty banks, and rolling down its waters, as sweet as milk, and as clear as crystal. There runs a charming level, of more than a mile square, that will bring forth like the lands of Egypt, without being overflow'd once a year. There is scarce a shrub in view to intercept your prospect, but grass as high as a man on horseback. Towards the woods there is a gentle ascent, till your sight is intercepted by an eminence, that overlooks the whole landskape. This sweet place is bounded to the east by a fine

stream call'd Sauro creek, which running out of the Dan, and tending westerly, makes the whole a peninsula (Byrd, 17).

There may have been two villages occupied by the tribe in this neighborhood, as on a map of 1760 we find this spot designated as "Lower Saura Town" while about 30 miles above, on the southern side of the Dan, and between it and Town fork, is another place marked "Upper Saura Town." This latter was on the site of the present Sauratown in Stokes county, North Carolina. The two towns thus designated, however, were white settlements.

The Sara were not met by Lawson in 1701, as they lived west of his line of travel. Shortly after this date, finding themselves no longer able to withstand the unceasing attacks of the Iroquois, they abandoned their beautiful home on the Dan and, moving southeastward, joined the Keyauwee (Byrd, 18). The Eno, Shoccoree, and Adshusheer also consolidated at the same time for a similar reason, the three being thenceforth commonly known under the single name of Eno. The Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi, who had joined forces about the same time, moved eastward to the neighborhood of the white settlements on Albemarle sound, and were shortly afterward settled by Governor Spotswood at Fort Christanna in Virginia, as already stated. In 1716 he also undertook to settle the confederated Sara, Keyauwee, and Eno (probably including also the Shoccoree and Adshusheer) at Enotown, on the frontier of the Tuskarora, on the upper Neuse in North Carolina, where he intended that they should serve as a protection to the white settlements against the incursions of the hostile Tuskarora and their allies from the north, and against the hostile Yamasi and their allies, who had lately killed their traders and inaugurated a war against the whites, on the south. This plan might have been successful had it not been defeated by the vigorous protest of the two Carolina governments, which insisted that the Sara were at that moment engaged in the war against South Carolina and that the Eno and Keyauwee were probably aiding them. At the same time, by request of the southern colony, North Carolina raised a force of whites and Indians to attack the Sara themselves (N. C. R., 6). A few weeks later it was reported that a white man and an Indian slave had been killed on the South Carolina frontier by a party of Indians supposed to be Sara, who appeared to be well supplied with arms and ammunition. It was believed that they were some of those with whom Spotswood had lately been negotiating, and that they had obtained their supplies in Virginia; and a letter was accordingly forwarded to the governor of that colony asking him to prohibit any trading with the Sara or any other southern tribes until they had first made peace with South Carolina. About the same time Governor Eden, of North Carolina, declared war against the Sara and made formal application to Virginia to assist in prosecuting it. To this Spotswood replied, with the concurrence of the Virginia council, that the Sara were under a treaty of friendship with Virginia, which had had the approbation of

the South Carolina government; that they had come into Virginia under a promise of safety; and that in the late encounter the Carolina people had been the aggressors and had attacked the Indians without provocation. The council therefore declined to take part in a war "so unjustly begun" (N. C. R., 7).

The war against the Sara and their allies was carried on by the two Carolina governments until the final defeat and expulsion of the Yamasi from South Carolina. Throughout this war there were frequent complaints from South Carolina that the Sara were responsible for most of the mischief done north of Santee river, and that they were endeavoring to draw the Winyaw and Waccamaw into the same alliance. Their arms and ammunition were said to be supplied from Virginia in return for skins, slaves, and goods plundered from South Carolina settlers, and it was openly charged by Carolina that Virginia encouraged these depredations in order to monopolize the Indian trade, so that one of the South Carolina writers was moved to declare, "I heartily wish Virginia had all our Indians, so we were but secured from them" (N. C. R., 8).

At the close of the Yamasi war the Sara tribe, who now begin to be known as Cheraw, were located on the upper Pedee where it crosses from North Carolina into South Carolina. The adjacent district in South Carolina was for a long time known as the Cheraw precinct. According to the old maps their village at this time was on the eastern bank of the Pedee, about opposite the present Cheraw, in Marlboro county, South Carolina. In 1715 they were reported to number 510 souls (Rivers, 1). This estimate, which seems too high, probably includes the Keyauwee, who still lived with or near them. According to the reports of Blount, chief of the friendly Tuskarora, they occasionally made inroads on his people and even attacked and plundered the Virginia traders (N. C. R., 9); but Blount's testimony is open to suspicion, as he was constantly endeavoring to increase his importance with the whites by discovering hostile conspiracies among the other Indians. However this may be, the remaining Tuskarora in 1717 received permission to remove from the Neuse to the northern side of the Roanoke, in order to be more secure from the southern tribes. The Sara were still exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois, of which there are records so late as 1726 (N. Y., 16), and were finally obliged to abandon their settlement and incorporate with the Catawba, who at an earlier period had been their enemies, on Catawba river, farther westward. Being a considerable tribe, however, they still preserved their separate name and dialect for a long time. They are mentioned as living with the Catawba as early as 1739 (Gregg, 1), and their dialect is mentioned as existing distinct from that of the Catawba as late as 1743 (Adair, 2). In 1751 they are again mentioned as one of the southern tribes adjoining the settlements with whom it was desired that the Iroquois should make peace (N. Y., 17). In the French and Indian war they and the Catawba aided the

English against the French and their allies, and in 1759 a party of 45 "Charraws," some of whom, under their chief, King Johnny, had been in the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, brought into Charleston the scalp of a French Indian (Gregg, 2). The last notice of the tribe seems to be in 1768, when we find them still living with the Catawba, but so reduced by wars and sickness that they numbered only 50 or 60 souls (Mass., 3). The Catawba and all their confederate tribes together then numbered only about 500 souls.

THE KEYAUWEE.

The name of the Keyauwee has no connection with that of Kecowee town of the Cherokee on Keowee river, in western South Carolina, nor apparently with that of Kiawah island, south of Charleston. Of their language nothing remains, but the evidence of alliance and history goes to show that they were Siouan. They were never prominent as a separate tribe. In 1701 Lawson found them in a palisaded village about 5 miles beyond "Heighwaree" (Uharie) river, and near another stream which was probably Deep river. The village was about 30 miles northeast of the Yadkin, and must have been about the present High point in Guilford county, North Carolina. It was shut in by high hills or mountains, nearly bare of timber or grass, being composed of a reddish earth from which the Indians obtained their mineral paint. In one of these mountains was a large cave. Around the village were large fields of corn. At that time they were about equal to the Saponi in number, and were ruled by Keyauwee Jack, who was by birth a Congaree, but had obtained the chieftainship by marriage with the queen. Lawson describes the daughter of this queen as a beautiful girl, with an air of majesty not common among Indians. She treated his party kindly, and they were well entertained during their stay. Most of the men of this tribe wore mustaches or whiskers, which was not the general custom of the Indians, who usually plucked their beards.

Incidentally the traveler mentions that all the Indians of that neighborhood carefully preserved the bones taken out of the meat they ate and afterward burned them, believing that if this were not done the game would leave the country and they would have no more success in hunting. At this time they were about to join the Tutelo and Saponi for greater protection against their enemies.

In 1714 the Keyauwee, with the Saponi, Tutelo, Occaneechi, and Shoccoree, had moved down toward the settlements about Albemarle sound; all five tribes, together with one or two not mentioned, numbering only about 750 souls (Lawson, 5). In 1716 Governor Spotswood proposed to settle the Keyauwee, with the Eno and Sara at Enotown, on the frontier of the North Carolina settlements, as already related, but was prevented by the opposition of that colony. Failing in this, they moved southward along with the Sara and probably also the Eno to Pedee river in South Carolina some time before 1733 (Byrd,

19). On Jefferys' map of 1761 their village is marked on the Pedee above that of the Sara, and about on the line between North Carolina and South Carolina. We find no later mention of them, but like the two other tribes just named they were probably incorporated with the Catawba.

THE ENO, SHOCCOREE, AND ADSHUSHEER.

Synonymy.

Eenó.—Adair, History of the American Inds., 1775, p. 224.
Enoe.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint 1860, p. 97.
Haynokes.—Yardley (1654) in Hawks, North Carolina, 1858, vol. ii, p. 19.
Oenock (or Œnock).—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 15.

Cacores.—Yardley (1654) in Hawks, North Carolina, 1858, vol. ii, p. 19.
Shabor.—Ibid., map (misprint).
Shacco.—Byrd (1733), Hist. of the Dividing Line, 1866, vol. ii, p. 2.
Shackory.—Ibid., p. 15.
Shakor.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, map.
Shoccories.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint, 1860, p. 97.

Adshusheer.—Lawson, ibid., p. 95.

As these tribes are usually mentioned together they may be treated in the same manner. It is doubtful if they, or at least the Eno and Shoccoree, were of Siouan stock, as they seem to have differed in physique and habit from their neighbors; but as nothing is left of their language, and as their alliances were all with Siouan tribes, they can not well be discriminated. Little is known of them, for they disappeared as tribal bodies about 1720, having been incorporated either with the Catawba on the south or with the Saponi and their confederates on the north.

The Eno and Shoccoree are first mentioned by Yardley in 1654. Writing from his Virginia plantation he says that a visiting Tuskarora had described to him, among other tribes in the interior, "a great nation called Cacores," of dwarfish stature, not exceeding that of boys of 14 years, yet exceedingly brave and fierce in fight and extremely active in retreat, so that even the powerful Tuskarora were unable to conquer them. Near them was another "great nation" whom the Tuskarora called Haynoke, by whom the northern advance of the Spaniards was valiantly resisted (Hawks, 1). From this it appears that the Eno were then at war with the Tuskarora, and that the Spaniards had advanced from the gold regions of the southern Alleghanies into central North Carolina.

The next mention of these two tribes is by Lederer, who found them in 1672 living south of the Occaneechi about the heads of Tar and Neuse rivers. The general locality is still indicated in the names of Eno river and Shocco creek, upper branches of these streams. In the name Shoccoree, the name proper is Shocco, *ree* or *ri* being the demonstrative suffix of the Catawba and closely cognate languages,

the same that appears in Usheree, Uharee, and Enoree, the last-named river perhaps taking its designation from the Eno tribe.

Lederer found the villages of the two tribes about 14 miles apart, the Eno the farther eastward. The Eno village was surrounded by large fields cleared by the industry of the Indians, and was itself built around a central field or plaza devoted to an athletic game described by the traveler as "slinging of stones," in which "they exercise with so much labor and violence and in so great numbers that I have seen the ground wet with the sweat that dropped from their bodies." He agrees with Yardley as to their small size, but not as to their bravery or other good qualities, stating that "they are of mean stature and courage, covetous and thievish, industrious to earn a penny, and therefore hire themselves out to their neighbors who employ them as carryers or porters. They plant abundance of grain, reap three crops in a summer, and out of their granary supply all the adjacent parts." The character thus outlined accords more with that of the peaceful Pueblos than with that of any of our eastern tribes, and goes far to indicate a different origin. Their housebuilding also was different from that of their neighbors, but resembled that of the mountain Indians. Instead of building their houses of bark, like the Virginia and Carolina Indians generally, they used branches interwoven and covered with mud or plaster. Some huts were built of reeds (canes) and bark. They were usually round instead of long as among the coast tribes. Near every house there was a smaller structure, somewhat resembling an oven, in which they stored corn and nuts. This is identical with the *û"watâli* or provision house of the Cherokee. In summer they slept under leafy arbors. The government was democratic and patriarchal, the decisions of their old men being received with unquestioning obedience. The Shoccoree resembled the Eno in their general customs and manners (Lederer, 9).

In 1701 Lawson found the Eno and Shoccoree, now confederated, with the addition of the Adshusheer, in the same location. Their village, which he calls Adshusheer, was on Eno river, about 14 miles east of the Occaneechi village, near the present Hillsboro. This would place it not far northeast of Durham, in Durham county, North Carolina. Eno Will, a Coree by birth, was the chief of the three tribes. He entertained the party in most hospitable fashion at Adshusheer, singing them to sleep with an Indian lullaby, and afterwards guided them from the Occaneechi to near the white settlements on Albemarle sound. Lawson describes him as "one of the best and most agreeable temper that ever I met with in an Indian, being always ready to serve the English, not out of gain, but real affection."

They kept poultry, but, so Lawson thought, largely for the purpose of sacrifice to the devil. They had not forgotten their old game mentioned by Lederer, which may now be recognized as the universal wheel-and-stick game of the eastern and southern tribes; for Lawson says in his narrative that they were "much addicted to a sport they call

Chenco, which is carried on with a staff and a bowl made of stone, which they trundle upon a smooth place like a bowling green, made for that purpose."

At this time the Shoccoree seem to have been the principal tribe. They had some trade with the Tuskarora. Later (about 1714), with the Tutelo, Saponi, Occaneechi, and Keyauwee, together numbering only about 750 souls, they moved toward the settlements. Lawson includes Eno in his list of Tuskarora villages at this period, and as the Eno lived on the Neuse adjoining the Tuskarora, it is probable that they were sometimes classed with them (Lawson, 6). In 1716 Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, proposed to settle the Eno, Sara, and Keyauwee at Eno Town, on what was then "the very frontiers" of North Carolina; but the project was defeated by North Carolina on the ground that all three tribes were then at war with South Carolina (N. C., 10). From the records it can not be determined clearly whether this was the Eno Town of Lawson in 1714, or a more recent village nearer the Albemarle settlements.

Owing to the objection made to their settlement in the north the Eno moved southward into South Carolina. They probably assisted the other tribes of that region in the Yamasi war of 1715. At least a few of the mixed tribe found their way into Virginia with the Saponi, as Byrd speaks of an old Indian, called Shacco Will, living near Nottoway river in 1733, who offered to guide him to a mine on Eno river near the old country of the Tuskarora (Byrd, 20). The name of Shocco (Shockoe) creek, at Richmond, Virginia, may possibly have been derived from the same tribe. The main body was finally incorporated with the Catawba, among whom the Eno still retained their distinct dialect in 1743 (Adair, 3). The name of Enoree river in South Carolina may have a connection with the name of the tribe.

THE WOCCON, SISSIPAHAW, CAPE FEAR, AND WARREN-NUNCOCK INDIANS.

Synonymy.

Waccoa.—Morse, Report, 1822, p. 145.
Waccoam.—Ibid (misprint).
Waccon.—Document of 1712 in N. C. Records, 1886, vol. i, p. 891.
Wacon.—Lawson, map of 1709, in Hawks, History of North Carolina, vol. ii, p. 104.
Woccon.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint 1860, p. 378.
Wocons.—Rafinesque in Marshall, History of Kentucky, 1824, vol. i, p. 23.
Wokkon.—Drake, Book of the Indians, 1848, p. xii.
Woocon.—Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, 1853, vol iii, p. 401.
Workons.—Domenech, Deserts of North America, 1860, vol. i, p. 445.

Sauxpa.—Vandera (1579) in Smith, Documentos inéditos, 1857, pp. 15–19 (probably the same).
Saxapahaw.—Bowen, Map of the British American Plantations, 1760.
Saxapahaw.—Byrd (1728), History of the Dividing Line, 1866, vol. i, p. 180.

Sippahaws.—Martin, History of North Carolina, 1829, vol. i, p. 129.
Sissipahau.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint 1860, p. 94.
Sissispahaws.—Latham, Varieties of Man, 1850, p. 334 (misprint).

Cape Fears.—Albany Conference (1751) in New York Colonial Documents, 1855, vol. vi, p. 721.

Warrennuncock.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 2.

Of the North Carolina tribes bearing the foregoing names almost nothing is known, and of the last two even the proper names have not been recorded. The Woccon were Siouan; the Saxapahaw and Cape Fear Indians presumably were Siouan, as indicated from their associations and alliances with known Siouan tribes, while the Warrennuncock were probably some people better known under another name, though they can not be identified. The region between the Yadkin and the Neuse, extending down to the coast, was probably occupied by still other tribes whose very names are forgotten. They were virtually exterminated by smallpox and other diseases long before the colonization of this region in the middle of the eighteenth century, and probably even before the Yamasi war of 1715 disrupted the smaller tribes.

About all that is known of the Woccon was recorded by Lawson, who states that about 1710 they lived not more than two leagues from the Tuskarora (who occupied the lower Neuse and its tributaries), and had two villages, Yupwauremau and Tooptatmeer (p. 383), with 120 warriors, which would indicate a population of 500 or 600 souls. This was by far a larger population at that period than any other of the eastern Carolina tribes excepting the Tuskarora. He gives a vocabulary of about 150 words, which shows that their dialect was closely related to that of the Catawba, although the two tribes were separated by nearly 200 miles (Lawson, 7). His map of 1709, reproduced by Hawks, places the Woccon between the main Neuse and one of its tributaries, perhaps about the present Goldsboro in Wayne county or Snow Hill in Greene county. They joined the Tuskarora against the whites in the war of 1711–1713, as learned from incidental references in the colonial documents of that period. Since there are no later records concerning them, they were probably destroyed as a tribe by that war, and the remnant may have fled northward with the hostile Tuskarora to the Iroquois, or southward to the Catawba and Yamasi; or perhaps they were assigned to the reservation with the friendly Tuskarora who remained in North Carolina.

The Sissipahaw must have been an important tribe at one time, as Haw river, the main upper stream of the Cape Fear, derives its name from them, and the site of their former village, known in 1728 as "the Haw old fields," was noted as the largest body of fertile land in all that region. It was probably situated about the present Saxapahaw on Haw river, in the lower part of Alamance county, North Carolina. They are probably identical with the Sauxpa mentioned by Vandera

in 1579; Lawson mentions them, but he did not meet them in his journey in 1701, as they lived below the point at which the regular trading path crossed the river. He incidentally mentions meeting among the Eno a slave taken from this tribe (Lawson, 8). Nothing more of them is known beyond the general statement by Martin that they and other tribes of that region joined the Yamasi against the English in the war of 1715.

The proper name of the Cape Fear Indians is unknown. This local term was applied by the early colonists to the tribe formerly living about the lower part of Cape Fear river in the southeastern corner of North Carolina. Their first intimate acquaintance with the English was made about the year 1661, when a colony from New England made a settlement near the mouth of the river, but soon incurred the ill will of the Indians by seizing their children and sending them away, ostensibly to instruct them in the ways of civilization, but really as the Indians believed, with a semblance of probability, to make them slaves. The result was that the Cape Fear Indians, although as yet without guns, began a determined war against the colonists and finally succeeded in driving them from the country. In 1663 another party, from Barbadoes, explored the river and its branches for a considerable distance. Not far from the mouth they found an Indian settlement called Necoes (narrative of 1663, in Lawson, p. 115), together with numerous cleared fields of corn. They found the Indians generally friendly, manifesting their friendship by cries of "bonny bonny," which may have been a reminiscence of previous contact with Spaniards. The Indians gave them corn and other provisions, and in return received presents of beads. One of the Indians, however, shot an arrow at them as they were passing under a cliff. They pursued and fired at him but missed. Afterward they came upon him in his canoe. What followed, as told in their own words, well indicates the summary methods of the English in dealing with the Indians:

> [1] We went on shore and cut the same in pieces. The Indians perceiving us coming towards them ran away. Going to his hut we pulled it down, broke his pots, platters, and spoons, tore the deerskins and mats in pieces and took away a basket of acorns.

Notwithstanding this severity, the Indians at the next village received the whites kindly, and their chief expressed the greatest regret and displeasure at the misconduct of his man. They afterward "made a purchase of the river and land of Cape Fair, of Wat Coosa and such other Indians as appeared to us to be the chief of those parts." The tribe seemed to be populous, with numerous villages along the river and excepting in the single instance mentioned, displayed the utmost friendly feeling toward the whites (Lawson, 9). In 1665 another colony settled at the mouth of Oldtown creek, in Brunswick county, on the southern side of the river, on a tract bought of the Indians, who still

remained friendly. The colony was not successful, consequently was disbanded a few years later (Martin, 1).

No more is heard of the tribe for nearly a hundred years. As they were evidently a warlike people, it is probable that like most of their neighbors they took part in the Yamasi war in 1715. It is also probable that they suffered with all the Carolina tribes from smallpox and other diseases until only a handful remained. They do not seem to have incorporated with the Catawba, however, as did many of the smaller tribes in their decline, but to have maintained their separate existence within the English settlements. They are last noticed in 1751 as one of the small friendly tribes with whom the South Carolina government desired the Iroquois to be at peace (N. Y., 18).

For the name Warrennuncock there is only the authority of a single statement by Lederer, who tells us in 1672 that the southern Alleghanies (or Blue ridge) at Sara "take the name of Suala; Sara in the Warrennuncock dialect being Sasa or Sualy." The name has an Algonquian appearance, and is probably only a Powhatan synonym for some Carolina tribe (having the *l* instead of the *r*) better known to us under some other name.

THE CATAWBA.

Synonymy.

Atakwa, Anitakwa.—Mooney (singular and plural Cherokee forms).
Cadapouces.—Pénicaut (1708) in Margry, Découvertes, 1883, vol. v, p. 477.
Calabaws.—Humphreys, Account, 1730, p. 98 (misprint).
Calipoas.—Census of 1857 in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 1857, vol. vi, p. 686.
Canapouces.—Pénicaut (1708) in Margry, op. cit.
Catabas.—Montcalm (1757) in New York Col. Docs., 1858, vol. x, p. 553.
Catabans.—Rafinesque in Marshall, Hist. of Kentucky, 1824, vol. i, p. 24.
Catabaw.—Document of 1738 in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. vi, p. 137.
Catapaw.—Map of North America and the West Indies, 1720.
Catauba.—Filson, History of Kentucky, 1793, p. 84.
Cataubos.—Map of 1715 in Winsor, History of America, 1887, vol. v, p. 346.
Catawba.—Albany Conference (1717) in N. Y. Col. Docs., 1855, vol. v, p. 490.
Catawbau.—Carroll, Historical Collections of South Carolina, 1836, vol. ii, p. 199.
Catawbaw.—Map in Mandrillon, Spectateur Américain, 1785.
Cataupa.—Potter (1768) in Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., 1st series, 1809, vol. x, p. 120.
Cattabas.—Document of 1715 in N. C. Records, 1886, vol. ii, p. 252.
Cattabaws.—Albany Conference (1717) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. v, p. 490.
Cattawbas.—Clarke (1741) in ibid., 1855, vol. vi, p. 208.
Cattoways.—Stobo (1754) in The Olden Time, 1846, vol. i, p. 72.
Cautawbas.—Clinton (1751) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. vi, p. 716.
Chatabas.—Buchanan, North American Indians, 1824, p. 155.
Contaubas.—Oglethorpe (1743) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. vi, p. 243.
Cotappos.—Document of 1776 in Historical Magazine, 2d series, 1867, vol. ii, p. 216.
Cotawpees.—Rogers, North America, 1765, p. 136.
Cotobers.—Document of 1728 in Va. State Papers, 1875, vol. i, p. 215.
Cuttambas.—German map of British Colonies (about 1750).
Cuttawa.—Vaugondy, map Partie de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1755.
Ea-tau-bau.—Hawkins (1799), Sketch of the Creek Country, 1848, p. 62 (misprint).

Elaws.—Craven (1712) in North Carolina Records, 1886, vol. i, p. 898 (misprint).
Esau.—Martin, History of North Carolina, 1829, vol. i, p. 194.
Esaws.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint of 1860, p. 73.
Flatheads (?).—Albany Conference (1714) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. v, p. 386. Albany Conference (1715) in ibid., pp. 442–444 (subjects of Carolina, Oyadagahroenes).
Issa.—La Vandera (1579) in French, Hist. Coll. of La., 1875, vol. ii, p. 291.
Kadapau.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint of 1860, p. 76.
Kadapaw.—Mills, Statistics of South Carolina, 1826, p. 109.
Katabas.—Malartic (1758) in New York Col. Docs., 1858, vol. x, p. 843.
Katahba.—Adair, History of American Indians, 1775, p. 223.
Kataubah.—Drake, Book of Indians, 1848, book iv, p. 25.
Kattarbe.—Cumming(?) (1730) in Drake, Book of Indians, 1848, book iv, p. 27.
Kattaupa.—De l'Isle map in Winsor, History of America, 1886, vol. ii, p. 295.
Ojadagochrœne.—Albany Conference (1720) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. v, p. 567. ("The flatheads Alias in Indian Ojadagochroene;" "They live to the west and south of Virginia").
Oyadagahrœnes.—Document of 1713 in New York Col. Docs., vol. v, p. 386, note.
Tadirighrones.—Albany Conference (1722), op. cit., p. 660 (same?).
Toderichroone.—Albany Conference (1717), op. cit., p. 491 (so called by Iroquois).
Totiris.—Chauvignrie(?) (1736) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. ix, p. 1057 (here intended for the Catawba).
Usherees.—Byrd (1728), Hist. of the Dividing Line, 1866, vol. i, p. 181.
Usherys.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 17.

The origin and meaning of this name are unknown. It is said tha Lynche creek in South Carolina, east of the Catawba territory, wa anciently known as Kadapau; and from the fact that Lawson applie the name Kadapau to a small band met by him southeast of th main body of the tribe, which he calls Esaw, it is possible that it wa originally applied to this people by some tribe living in eastern Sout Carolina, from whom the first colonists obtained it. The Cheroke having no *b* in their language, changed the word to Atakwa, o Anitakwa in the plural. The Shawano and other tribes of the Ohi valley made the word Cuttawa. From the earliest period the Catawb have also been known distinctively as the "river [Catawba, *iswă* people," from their residence on what seems to have been considere the principal river of the region, Iswă, "the river," being their onl name for the Catawba and Wateree. The name appears in the Issa La Vandera as early as 1569, in the Ushery (*iswa-hĕrĕ*, "river dow there") of Lederer, and in the Esaw of Lawson. They were also calle Flatheads (Oyadagahroene) by the Iroquois, a name which lea to some confusion, as it was also frequently applied by the san people to the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee. The name w properly applicable to the Choctaw, who practiced the custom of hea flattening, as did also the Waxhaw of South Carolina adjoining t Catawba; but there seems to be no allusion to the existence of th strange custom among the Catawba themselves. They were also fr quently included by the Iroquois under the general term of Totiri Toderichroone (whence the form Tutelo), applied to all the southe Siouan tribes collectively. Like most other tribes the Catawba kn

themselves simply as "people," or "Indians," in their language *nieya* or *nieye*, abbreviated to *nie* or *ye*, or sometimes expanded into *Kataba nie*, "Catawba Indians" (Gatschet).

Gallatin in 1836 classed the Catawba as a distinct stock, and they were so regarded until Gatschet visited them in South Carolina in 1881 and obtained from them a vocabulary of over 1,000 words, among which he found numerous Siouan correspondences. On the strength of this testimony they were classed with the Siouan stock in the First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, published in the same year. No further investigation of the subject was made until Hale's account of the Tutelo language, published in 1883, Gatschet's further discovery of the Biloxi in 1886, and the author's notice of the Siouan affinity of the Saponi in 1890 proved beyond question that some of the oldest forms of the Siouan languages must be looked for in the east. The material obtained by Mr. Gatschet was then turned over for critical examination to Mr. Dorsey, a specialist in the well-known Siouan tribes of the west, with the result that he pronounced the Catawba a Siouan language. This established, it followed that the Woccon and other languages known to be closely related to the Catawba must also belong to the same stock. As nearly all the tribes of both Carolinas from Cape Fear river to the Combahee were closely allied politically with the Catawba, with whom they were afterward incorporated, it is probable, though not certain, that they were all of the same linguistic stock.

According to a Catawba tradition related in Schoolcraft, the people originally came from the north, driven by the "Connewangos," by which is evidently meant the Iroquois. They settled on Catawba river, and after a desperate struggle with the Cherokee, who claimed prior rights in the region, they succeeded in maintaining their position; and Broad river was adopted as the boundary between the two tribes. So much of the tradition may be accepted as genuine. The rest of it, relating with great exactness of detail how they had lived in Canada, how the Connewango were aided by the French, how the Catawba lived for a time in Kentucky and in what is now Botetourt county, Virginia; how they settled on Catawba river about 1660, how in one battle with the Cherokee they lost 1,000 men and the Cherokee lost 1,100, and how the Catawba exterminated the Waxhaw to the last man immediately afterward—all this is absurd, the invention and ignorant surmise of the would-be historian who records the tradition, and of a piece with Schoolcraft's identification of the Catawba with "the lost Eries." The Catawba were found living about where we have always known them as early as 1567. Kentucky river was called by that name among the Shawano and other northern tribes because up that river lay the great war trail to the Catawba country. The creek bearing the name in Botetourt county, Virginia, was so called from a chance encounter of Shawano or others with a party of Catawba, who used to enter

Pennsylvania and cross over to Ohio valley in their raiding excursions, just as the Iroquois and other northern tribes used to penetrate to South Carolina against the Catawba.

The French had nothing to do with the expulsion of the Catawba from the north, as shown by the connected accounts of all the important French dealings with the tribes from their first occupancy. So far from being exterminated, the Waxhaw were found by Lawson living on Waxhaw creek in 1701, and were described in detail by him at that time. It is hardly necessary to say that no tribe in the United States ever lost 1,000 warriors in a single battle with another tribe. As for the Erie, there is no question as to their identity; they were an Iroquian tribe on Lake Erie whose conquest and incorporation by the Iroquois is a matter of history.

From the earliest historical period the Catawba have always lived where the small remnant may still be found, on Catawba river, about on the border of North Carolina and South Carolina. Westward and northwestward they bordered on the Cherokee and Sara, with the former of whom they were in a state of chronic warfare, while on the south and east they had as neighbors several small tribes closely akin to themselves and most of whom afterward united with them in their decline. Their villages were chiefly within the present limits of South Carolina.

The first European acquaintance of the Catawba was with the Spaniards about the middle of the sixteenth century. It is possible that the Guachule of De Soto's chroniclers, although evidently situated southwest of Catawba river, is identical with the Usheree or Catawba tribe of the later English writers, as Guatari and Hostaqua are identical with Wateree and Oustack or Westo. They are mentioned under the name of Issa by the Spanish captain, Juan Pardo, who conducted an expedition from Saint Helena into the interior of South Carolina in 1567 (French, 1).

The next important notice is given a hundred years later by Lederer, who visited these Indians in 1670 and speaks of them under the name of Ushery. He describes them as living on one side of a great lake, on the farther side of which lived the Oustack (Westo) of whom they were in constant dread. As there is no such lake in that part of the country, it is evident that he must have visited the region at a time when the low bottom lands of Catawba river were flooded by heavy rains. The swamp lands of Carolina are subject to heavy overflow and Lawson records the statement that on his journey he found Santee river risen 36 feet above its normal level. While at war with the Westo the Catawba in 1670 were in alliance with the Wisacky (Waxhaw), a subordinate neighboring tribe. Lawson describes the Catawba women as "reasonably handsome," and delighting much in feather ornaments of which they had a great variety. The men were more effeminate and lazy than other Indians generally, a fact which may account for the little importance of the tribe in history. He notes the fact of the

universal custom of plucking out the beard. They were acquainted with the Spaniards, who lived only two or three days' journey southwestward. The Sara, living northwest of the Catawba, also were acquainted with the same nation.

According to Lederer's account, the Catawba had the fire dance found among so many tribes; he says:

> These miserable wretches are strangely infatuated with illness of the devil; it caused so small horror in me to see one of them wrythe his neck all on one side, foam at the mouth, stand barefoot upon burning coal for near one hour, and then, recovering his senses, leap out of the fire without hurt or signe of any (Lederer, 10).

As it is impossible to do justice to the Catawba within the limits of this paper, only a brief sketch of the tribe will be presented, with especial attention to the obscurer tribes; the fuller descriptions being reserved for a future work on the Indians of the southern Atlantic region.

In 1701 Lawson passed through the territory of the Catawba, whom he calls by the two names of Esaw and Kadapau, evidently unaware that these names are synonyms. In Esaw may be recognized Iswă, whence is derived the name Ushery of Lederer. Kadapau, of course, is another form of Catawba, the band which he calls by this name living some little distance from those designated by him as Esaw. He calls the Esaw a "powerful nation" and states that their villages were "very thick." From all accounts they were formerly the most populous tribe in the Carolinas excepting the Cherokee. He was everywhere received in a friendly manner, in accord with the universal conduct of the Catawba toward the English save during the Yamasi war. Virginia traders were all among them then, and the great trading path from Virginia to Georgia was commonly known as the Catawba path. He says nothing of head-flattening among this tribe, although he describes the custom in detail as found among the neighboring Waxhaw. Incidentally he mentions that scratching a stranger on the shoulder at parting was regarded as a very great compliment. He also notes the use of a comb set with the teeth of rattlesnakes for scraping the body before applying medicine to the affected part in cases of lameness (Lawson, 10). A similar practice still persists among the Cherokee.

Adair states that one of the ancient cleared fields of the Catawba extended 7 miles, besides which they had several other smaller village sites (Adair, 4). In 1728 (1729 by error) they still had six villages, all on Catawba river, within a distance of 20 miles, the most northerly being called Nauvasa (Byrd, 21). Their principal village was formerly on the western side of the river in what is now York county, South Carolina, opposite the mouth of Sugar creek (Mills, 1).

The history of the Catawba up to about the year 1760 is chiefly a record of the petty warfare between themselves and the Iroquois and other northern tribes, throughout which the colonial government was constantly kept busy trying to induce the Indians to stop killing each other and go to killing the French. With the single exception of their

alliance with the hostile Yamasi in 1715 they were uniformly friendly to the English and afterward to their successors, the Americans; but they were at constant war with the Iroquois, the Shawano, the Delaware, and other tribes of Ohio valley, as well as with the Cherokee. In carrying on this warfare the Iroquois and the lake tribes made long journeys into South Carolina, and the Catawba retaliated by sending small scalping parties into Ohio and Pennsylvania. Their losses by the ceaseless attacks of their enemies reduced their numbers steadily and rapidly, while disease and debauchery introduced by the whites, and especially several wholesale epidemics of smallpox, aided the work of destruction, so that before the close of the eighteenth century the great nation of Lawson was reduced to a pitiful remnant (details may be found in the Colonial Documents of New York, in 12 volumes, 1856–1877). They sent a large force to help the colonists in the Tuskarora war of 1711–13, and also aided in expeditions against the French and their Indian allies at Fort Du Quesne and elsewhere during the French and Indian war. Later it was proposed to use them and the Cherokee against the lake tribes under Pontiac in 1763. They assisted the Americans also during the Revolution in the defense of South Carolina against the British, as well as in Williamson's expedition against the Cherokee.

In 1738 the smallpox raged in South Carolina, and worked great destruction not only among the whites but also among the Catawba and smaller tribes. In 1759 it appeared again and this time destroyed nearly half the tribe, largely because of their custom (common to other Indians likewise) of plunging into cold water as soon as the disease manifested itself (Gregg, 3). In order to secure some protection for them in their weakened condition the South Carolina government made strong protests to the governor of New York against the incursions of the Iroquois and Ohio tribes from the north, who did not confine their attention to the Catawba alone, but frequently killed also other friendly Indians and negroes and even attacked the white settlements. Governor Glen, of South Carolina, at last threatened to take up the quarrel of the Catawba by offering a reward for every northern Indian killed within the limits of South Carolina. This heroic measure was successful, and in the next year (1751), at a conference at Albany attended by the delegates from the Six Nations and the Catawba, under the auspices of the colonial governments, a treaty of peace was made between the two tribes, conditional upon the return of some Iroquois prisoners then held by the Catawba (N. Y., 19). This peace was probably final as regards the Iroquois, but had no effect upon the western tribes, whose interests were all with the French. These tribes continued their warfare against the Catawba, who were now so far reduced that they could make little effectual resistance. In 1762 a small party of Shawano killed the noted chief of the tribe, King Haiglar, near his own village (Mills, 2). From this time they ceased to be of importance except in conjunction with the whites. In 1763 they

had confirmed to them a reservation (assigned a few years before) of 15 miles square, or 225 square miles, on both sides of Catawba river, within the present York and Lancaster counties, South Carolina (N. Y., 20).

On the approach of the British troops in 1780, the Catawba Indians withdrew temporarily into Virginia, but returned after the battle of Guilford Court House and established themselves in two villages on the reservation, known, respectively, as Newton (the principal village) and Turkey Head, on opposite sides of Catawba river (Mills, 3). In 1826 nearly the whole of their reservation was leased to whites for a few thousand dollars, on which the few survivors chiefly depended. About 1841 they sold to the state all but a single square mile, on which they now reside (Gatschet). About the same time a number of the Catawba, dissatisfied with their condition among the whites, removed to the eastern Cherokee in western North Carolina, but finding their position among their old enemies equally unpleasant, all but one or two soon went back again. An old woman, the last survivor of this emigration, died among the Cherokee in 1889. Her daughter and a younger full-blood Catawba still reside with that tribe. At a later period some Catawba removed to the Choctaw nation in Indian Territory and settled near Scullyville, but are said now to be extinct. About ten years ago several became converts to Mormon missionaries in South Carolina and went with them to Salt Lake City, Utah.

The following figures show the steady decline of the tribe from the first authentic reports to the present time. At the first settlement of South Carolina (about 1682) they numbered about 1,500 warriors, equivalent perhaps to 6,000 souls (Adair, 5). In 1701 they were "a very large nation, containing many thousand people" (Lawson, 11). In 1728 they had but little more than 400 warriors, equivalent perhaps to 1,600 souls (Byrd, 22). In 1738 they suffered from the smallpox, and in 1743, even after they had incorporated a number of smaller tribes, the whole body consisted of less than 400 warriors. At that time this mixed nation consisted of the remnants of more than twenty different tribes, each still retaining its own dialect. Others included with them were the Wateree, who had a separate village, the Eno, Cheraw or Sara, Chowan(?), Congaree, Notchee, Yamasi, Coosa, etc., (Adair, 6). In 1759 the smallpox again appeared among them and destroyed a great many. In 1761 they had left about 300 warriors, say 1,200 total, "brave fellows as any on the continent of America, and our firm friends" (Description of South Carolina, London, 1761). In 1775 they had little more than 100 warriors, about 400 souls; but Adair says that smallpox and intemperance had contributed more than war to their decrease (Adair, 7). They were further reduced by smallpox about the beginning of the Revolution, in consequence of which they took the advice of their white friends and invited the Cheraw still living in the settlements to move up and join them (Gregg, 4). This increased their number, and in 1780 they had 150

warriors and a total population of 490 (Mass., 1). About 1784 they had left only 60 or 70 warriors, or about 250 souls, and of these warriors it was said, "such they are as would excite the derision and contempt of the more western savages" (Smyth, 1). In 1787 they were the only tribe in South Carolina still retaining an organization (Gregg). In 1822 they were reported to number about 450 souls (Morse, 1), which is certainly a mistake, as in 1826 a historian of the state says they had only about 30 warriors and 110 total population (Mills, 4). In 1881 Gatschet found about 85 persons on the reservation on the western bank of Catawba river, about 3 miles north of Catawba Junction, in York county, South Carolina, with about 35 more working on farms across the line in North Carolina, a total of about 120. Those on the reservation were much mixed with white blood, and only about two dozen retained their language. The best authority then among them on all that concerned the tribe and language was an old man called Billy John. They received a small annual payment from the state in return for the lands they had surrendered, but were poor and miserable. For several years they have been without a chief. In 1889 there were only about 50 individuals remaining on the reservation, but of this small remnant the women still retain their old reputation as expert potters. They were under the supervision of an agent appointed by the state.

THE WAXHAW AND SUGEREE.

Synonymy.

Flatheads.—General (see Catawba).
Wacksaws.—Craven (1712) in Col. Records of North Carolina, 1886, vol. i, p. 898.
Wassaws.—Catawba manuscript in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, 1853, vol. iii, p. 294.
Waxaus.—Map of North America and the West Indies, 1720.
Waxaws.—Document of 1719 in Rivers, South Carolina, 1874, p. 93.
Waxhaws.—Logan, History of upper South Carolina, 1859, vol. i, p. 182.
Waxsaws.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint of 1860, p. 60.
Wisack.—Ibid., p. 72.
Wisacky.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 17.

Sugans.—Vaugondy, map of "Amérique," 1778 (misprint).
Sugaus.—Bowen, Map of the British American Plantations, 1760.
Sugeree.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, op. cit., p. 76.
Suturees.—War map of 1715 in Winsor, History of America, 1887, vol. v, p. 346.

The two small tribes bearing the above designations are hardly known except in connection with the Catawba, with whom they were afterward incorporated. They may be treated together. The tribes lived, respectively, about Waxhaw and Sugar (i. e., Sugeree) creeks, two small streams flowing into Catawba river from the northeast, within, what is now Lancaster county, South Carolina, and Union and Mecklenburg counties, North Carolina. As previously mentioned (page 69) the Waxhaw practiced the custom of flattening the head, a custom

probably followed also by the Catawba and other neighboring tribes, whence they were called Flatheads. The first notice of either tribe seems to be that of Lederer, who visited the Wisacky (Waxsaw) in 1672, and found them living next south of the Sara, i. e., about where they were afterward known. He dismisses them with the brief statement that they were subject to the Ushery (Catawba) and might be considered a part of that tribe (Lederer, 11).

In 1701 Lawson visited the Waxhaw and was received in the most hospitable fashion. He mentions two of their villages as being situated 10 miles apart, showing that they might be considered a tribe of some importance at that time. From incidental references in Lawson's work it is evident that at the time of his visit they were on good terms with their neighbors as well as with the Saponi farther toward the north. He says that the Waxhaw were very tall, and describes in detail their method of flattening the head. This was accomplished by laying the infant in a sort of cradle, consisting chiefly of a flat board, with its head resting on a bag of sand. Swaddling cloths were then wrapped tightly around baby and cradle from head to foot and a roll (of cloth ?) was placed over its forehead and pulled down tightly in the same manner. The bandages were loosened or tightened from time to time, and the child was kept in this press until the soft skull was permanently distorted. The process had the effect of disfiguring the countenance by making the eyes stand very wide apart and causing the hair to hang over the forehead, as Lawson says, "like the eves of a house." The reason given by the Indians for this strange custom was that it improved the eyesight, so that they became better hunters.

The dance ceremonials and councils of the Waxhaw were held in a large council house, much larger than the ordinary houses in which they dwelt, with a very low entrance and with benches of cane inside next to the wall. Instead of being covered with bark like their dwellings, this state house was neatly thatched with sedge and rushes. One of their principal old men had his residence in it as guard and keeper. The interior of the structure was dark and the fire was kept up on public occasions by means of a circle of cane splits in the middle, the canes being constantly renewed at one end as they were consumed at the other. According to personal information, the same method of making and renewing the fire was used among the Cherokee on certain ceremonial occasions.

Soon after leaving the Waxhaw and Esaw (Catawba), Lawson met the Sugeree, who, according to his statement, occupied a very fertile country and inhabited "a great many towns and settlements." Near them were the "Kadapau," who to all appearances were a detached band of the Catawba (Lawson, 12).

No later reference to these tribes is found excepting a brief mention of the "Elaw" (Catawba) and Waxhaw in 1712, from which it seems that the hostile Tuskarora and their allies in the north were making inroads upon them. They were probably so far reduced a few years

later by the Yamasi war, in which nearly all the Carolina tribes took part against the English, that they were no longer able to stand alone and were obliged to incorporate with the Catawba.

THE PEDEE, WACCAMAW, AND WINYAW; THE HOOKS AND BACKHOOKS.

Synonymy.

Peadea.—La Tour map, 1784.
Pedees.—War map of 1715 in Winsor, History of America, 1887, vol. v, p. 346.
Peedee.—Document of 1732 in Gregg, History of the Old Cheraws, 1867, p. 8.
Pidees.—Glen (1751) in New York Col. Docs., 1855, vol. vi, p. 709.

Waccamaus.—Letter of 1715 in Col. Rec. of North Carolina, 1886, vol. ii, p. 252.
Waccamawe.—Ibid., p. 252.
Wacemaus.—Ibid., p. 251.
Waggamaw.—Map of the Province of South Carolina, 1760.
Waggoman.—War map of 1715 in Winsor, op. cit., vol. v, p. 346 (misprint).
Wicomaw.—Bowen, Map of the British American Plantations, 1760.
Wigomaw.—Moll, map of Carolina, 1720.

Weenees.—Rivers, History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 36 (same?).
Wenee (river).—Map of the Province of South Carolina, 1760.
Wineaus.—Letter of 1715 in Col. Rec. of North Carolina, 1886, vol. ii, p. 251.
Wingah.—Map of the Province of South Carolina, 1760 (misprint).
Winyaws.—Mills, Statistics of South Carolina, 1826, p. 108.
Winyo.—Bowen, Map of the British American Plantations, 1760.
Wyniaws.—Gallatin in Trans. and Colls. Am. Antiquarian Soc., 1836, vol. ii, p. 89.

Hooks.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint of 1860, p. 45.

Backbooks.—Lawson, op. cit., p. 45 (misprint).
Back Hooks.—Rivers, History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 35.

These small tribes lived on the lower Pedee and its tributaries in South Carolina and the contiguous border of North Carolina. Nothing is known of their language and very little can now be learned of their former daily life or their religious system of belief, as they were never prominent in history.

For the "Hooks" and "Backbooks" there is only the authority of Lawson, who mentions them as enemies of the Santee, living in the earliest part of the eighteenth century about the mouth of Winyaw river, i. e., Winyah bay, South Carolina (Lawson, 13). The names have a suspicious appearance, as though badly corrupted from their proper forms. Rivers, perhaps from original information, makes them Hooks and Back Hooks, which, if correct, may indicate that the former lived nearer the coast and the others back of them.

The Waccamaw lived on the river of that name, which enters the Pedee from the north almost at its mouth. The Winyaw lived on the western side of the Pedee near its mouth. Black river, a lower tributary of the Pedee from the west, was formerly called Wenee river, probably another form of the same word, and Winyah bay still preserves their memory. The two tribes are mentioned in 1715 as living near

together and as receiving supplies of ammunition from the Sara, who were endeavoring to persuade them to join the Yamasi and other hostiles against the English (N. C., 11). In 1755 the Cherokee and Notchee were reported to have killed some Pedee and Waccamaw in the white settlements (Gregg, 5). This appears to be the last mention of the Waccamaw, though from other evidence it is probable that, like the Pedee, Sara, and other tribes of that region, the remnant was finally incorporated with the Catawba.

The Pedee are somewhat better known. They lived on the middle course of Pedee river, and on a map of 1715 their village is located on the eastern bank, considerably below that of the Sara (about the present village of Cheraw). They are mentioned in a document of 1732, and again in 1743. In 1744 they and the Notchee killed several Catawba, whereupon the Catawba pursued them and drove them down into the settlements, necessitating the interference of the colonial government to prevent war between the two parties. In 1746 they and the Sara are mentioned as two small tribes, which had been long incorporated with the Catawba. They were restless under the connection, however, and again Governor Glen had to interfere to prevent their separation. This he did by representing to them that either was too weak to stand alone against their enemies, although strong enough when united, enforcing the parable by means of a bundle of ramrods. Incidentally it is learned that the Pedee owned negro slaves, as also did other tribes near the settlements (Gregg, 6). In the Albany conference of 1751 they are mentioned as one of the small tribes living among the whites, with which the South Carolina government desired the Iroquois to be at peace (New York, 21). In the following year the Catawba sent a message to Governor Glen to the effect that there were still a great many Pedee living among the settlements, and asking him to advise these to come and live with them (the Catawba), who promised to treat them as brothers. By this means the Catawba represented to the governor that they themselves would be strengthened and the Pedee would run less risk of being killed by hostile Indians while straggling in the woods. It is not improbable that the invitation was accepted by most of the Pedee who had not already joined the Catawba, although there is a record of some Pedee having been killed by the Notchee and Cherokee in 1755 within the white settlements (Gregg, 7).

THE SEWEE, SANTEE, WATEREE, AND CONGAREE.

Synonymy.

Seawees.—Document of 1719 in Rivers, Hist. of South Carolina, 1874, p. 93.
Seewas.—Rivers (anonymous), History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 38.
Sewee.—Purcell, Map of Virginia, etc., 1795.
Sewees.—Lawson (1714), History of Carolina, reprint of 1860, p. 25.

Santees.—Lawson (1714), op. cit., p. 34.
Seratees.—Mills, Statistics of South Carolina, 1826, p. 735.

Seretee.—Lawson, op. cit., p. 45.
Zantees.—Howe in Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, 1854, vol. iv, p. 155.

Chichanees.—Rivers (anonymous), History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 36.
Chickaree.—Howe in Schoolcraft, op. cit., p. 158.
Guatari.—La Vandera (1569) in Smith, Documentos Inéditos, 1857, vol. i, p. 17.
Watarees.—Jeffreys, French Dominions in America, 1761, part i, map, p. 134.
Watary.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 16.
Wateree.—Lawson (1714), op. cit., p. 56.
Wateree Chickanee.—Ibid., p. 59.
Waterrees.—Ibid., p. 99.
Watteree.—Moll, Map of Carolina, 1720.

Canggaree.—Adair, Hist. Am. Indians, 1775, p. 225.
Congares.—Doc. of 1719 in Rivers, Early Hist. of South Carolina, 1874, p. 92.
Congarees.—Ibid., p. 93.
Congeres.—Moll, Map of Carolina, 1720.
Congerees.—Lawson (1714), op. cit., p. 34.
Congrée.—La Tour, Map of United States, 1784.
Conqerees—War map of 1715 in Winsor, Hist. of Am., 1887, vol. v, p. 346.

The Santee and its branches, the Wateree and the Congaree, were held by the Sewee, Santee, Wateree, and Congaree tribes, whose territory extended to the neighborhood of the Waxhaw and Catawba. Nothing is known of their linguistic affinities, but their alliances and final incorporation were with the Catawba.

The Sewee occupied the coast and the lower part of the river below the Santee, extending westward to the divide of Ashley river about the present Monks Corner, in Berkeley county, South Carolina, where they adjoined the Etiwaw (Rivers, 2). Their name is preserved in Sewee bay. Lawson, who met them in 1701, states that they had formerly been a large tribe, but, like the other tribes of Carolina, had been much wasted by smallpox and other diseases, and through the effect of liquor introduced by the whites. The great mortality always produced among them by smallpox was owing chiefly to their universal habit of plunging into the water at the critical stage of the disease in order to ease themselves of the feverish burnings.

The destruction of the Sewee was the immediate result of the failure of a great trading scheme which they had elaborated, but which proved disastrous to the originators. Being dissatisfied with the bargains that the traders drove with them, and having noticed that the English vessels always came in at one particular harbor, they concluded that by starting from the same point with their canoes they could easily reach England, which they would not believe was so far off as the whites said, and there do their own trading to better advantage. Accordingly, after having deliberated the matter in council, they prepared a fleet of large canoes, which they loaded with a full stock of their finest furs and what they supposed were sufficient supplies for the voyage. In order not to be cheated out of the reward of their enterprise, the plan and preparation were kept a secret from their neighboring tribes. When the fleet was ready they embarked nearly

all their able-bodied men, leaving only the old people and children at home to await their return, and put out into the Atlantic. Unfortunately they were hardly out of sight of land before a storm came up, which swamped most of their canoes and drowned the occupants, while the survivors were taken up by an English ship and sold as slaves in the West Indies. Aboriginal free trade thus received its death blow in Carolina, and their voyage to England remained a sore topic among the Sewee for a long time thereafter. Lawson describes the remnant as tall, athletic fellows, and excellent canoemen, and incidentally mentions that they used mats as sails. Avendaughbough, a deserted village which he found on Sewee bay (p. 24), was probably one of their settlements (Lawson, 14).

Only one later reference to the Sewee is known. It is said that in January, 1715, they numbered 57 souls and occupied a single village 60 (?) miles northeast of Charleston (Rivers). The Yamasi war, which began three months later and involved all the tribes of that region, probably put an end to their existence as a separate and distinct tribe.

The Santee or Seratee lived on Santee river from the Sewee settlements up about to the forks. They were a small tribe, even in 1701, although their chief had more despotic power than among other tribes. They had several villages, one small one being called Hickerau, known to the traders as "the black house." They were a generally hospitable people and friendly to the whites, but were at that time at war with the tribes below them on the coast. They made beautiful feather robes, wove cloths and sashes of hair, and stored their corn in provision houses raised on posts and plastered with clay, after the manner of the Cherokee and other southern tribes. It is recorded that their chief was an absolute ruler with power of life and death over his tribe, an instance of despotism very rare in that region but probably in accordance with the custom of the Santee, as we learn that his predecessor had been equally unquestioned in his authority and dreaded by all his enemies for his superior prowess.

Their distinguished dead were buried on the tops of mounds built low or high according to the rank of the deceased, and with a ridge roof supported by poles over the grave to shelter it from the weather. On these poles were hung rattles, feathers, and other offerings from the relations of the dead man. The corpse of an ordinary person was carefully dressed, wrapped in bark, and exposed on a platform for several days, during which time one of his nearest kinsman, with face blackened in token of grief, stood guard near the spot and chanted a mournful eulogy of the dead. The ground about the platform was kept carefully swept, and all the dead man's belongings, gun, bow, and feather robes, were placed near by. As soon as the flesh had softened it was stripped from the bones and burned, and the bones themselves were cleaned, the skull being wrapped separately in a cloth woven of opossum hair.

The bones were then put into a box, from which they were taken out annually to be again cleaned and oiled. In this way some families had in their possession the bones of their ancestors for several generations. Places where warriors had been killed were sometimes distinguished by piles of stones, or sometimes of sticks, to which every passing Indian added another (Lawson, 15). The custom of cleaning and preserving the bones of the dead was common also to the Choctaw, Nanticoke, and several other tribes.

According to an old document the Santee in January, 1715, still had two villages, 70 (?) miles north of Charleston, with 43 warriors (Rivers), equal to about 160 souls. As nothing is heard of them later they probably were destroyed as a tribe by the Yamasi war, which broke out soon after.

The Congaree lived on Santee and Congaree rivers, above and below the junction of the Wateree, in central South Carolina. They had the Santee tribe below them and the Wateree tribe above. Lawson found them in 1701, apparently on the northeastern bank of the river below the junction of the Wateree; but on a map of 1715 their village is indicated on the southern bank of the Congaree and considerably above, perhaps about Big Beaver creek, or about opposite the site of Columbia, on the eastern boundary of Lexington county. A fort called by their name was established near this village and about the present Columbia in 1718, and according to Logan became an important trading station. Lawson described their village in 1701 as consisting of only about a dozen houses, located on a small creek flowing into Santee river. They were then but a small tribe, having lost heavily by tribal feuds, but more especially by smallpox, which had depopulated whole villages. They were a friendly people, handsome and well built, the women being especially beautiful. Although the several tribes were generally small and lived closely adjoining one another, yet there was as great a difference in their features and disposition as in language, which was usually different with each tribe (Lawson, 16).

The Congaree, like their neighbors, took part in the Yamasi war in 1715, as a result of which they were so reduced that they were obliged to move up and join the Catawba, with whom they were living in 1743, still preserving their distinct dialect (Adair, 8).

The Wateree were first met by the Spaniards under Juan de Pardo in 1567, and were described by La Vandera two years later under the name of Guatari. The name is derived from the Catawba word *watĕrăn*, "to float in the water" (Gatschet). From the Spanish account they were then living at a considerable distance from the coast and near the Cherokee frontier. They are described as being 15 or 16 leagues southeast from "Otari-yatiqui," a misconception of an Indian term for an interpreter of the Otari, Âtali, or Mountain Cherokee. They were ruled by two female chiefs, who held dignified court with a retinue of young men and women as attendants (French, 2).

More than a century later (in 1670) Lederer found them apparently on the extreme upper Yadkin, far northwest of their later location, with the Shoccoree and Eno on their northeast and the Sara on their west. It is probable that in this position they were not far from where they had been found by Pardo in 1567. There is reason to believe that the name Wateree was formerly applied to Pedee and Yadkin rivers instead of the stream now known by that name (Gregg, 8). Pardo describes the Wateree as differing from other Indians in being slaves, rather than subjects, to their chiefs, which agrees with what Lawson says of the Santee. While Lederer was stopping with the Wateree their chief sent out three warriors with orders to kill some young women of a hostile tribe in order that their spirits might serve his son, who was dying, in the other world. In accordance with their instructions they soon returned with the scalps and the skin from the faces of three young women. These trophies they presented to the chief who, it is related, received them with grateful acknowledgment (Lederer, 12).

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Wateree lived on Wateree river in South Carolina, with the Congaree below them and the Catawba and Waxhaw above. On a map of 1715 their village is marked on the western bank of the river, perhaps about the present Wateree creek in Fairfield county. Moll's map of 1730 places their village on the northern or eastern bank of the river, and Mills states definitely that it was on Pinetree creek below Camden (Mills, 5). It seems to have been here that Lawson found them in 1701. He calls them in one place "Wateree Chickanee" Indians, the latter part of the compound perhaps designating a particular band of the tribe. He describes them as tall and well built, friendly, but great pilferers and very lazy, even for Indians. At that time they had but few guns or other articles obtained from the whites. Their houses were as poor as their industry. They were a much larger tribe than the Congaree, and spoke a different language (Lawson, 17). The Yamasi war in 1715 probably broke their power, and in 1743 they were consolidated with the Catawba, though still constituting a large village and retaining their distinct dialect (Adair, 9).

OTHER SOUTH CAROLINA TRIBES.

Synonymy.

Cherokee.—(Synonyms not given.)

Shawano.—(Synonyms not given.)

Uchi.—(Synonyms not given.)

Saluda.—(Synonyms not given; the form occurs on Moll's map of Carolina, 1720.)

Nachee.—Adair, History of American Indians, 1775, p. 225.
Natchee.—South Carolina Gazette of 1734 in Rivers, Hist. South Carolina, 1856, p. 38.
Notches.—Glen (1751) in Gregg, History of the Old Cheraws, 1867, p. 14.
Notchees.—Document of 1744 in ibid., p. 10.

Ashley River Indians.—(Same?).
Etewaus.—Albany Conference (1751) in New York Col. Docs., vol. vi, p. 721.
Etiwans.—Rivers, History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 37.
Eutaw.—Present geographic form.
Ilwans.—Rivers, Early History of South Carolina, 1874, p. 94 (misprint).
Ittawans.—Rivers, History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 37.

Hostaqua.—Laudonnière (about 1564) in French, Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 1869, vol. vi, p. 288.
Hostaque.—Ibid., p. 266.
Houstaqua.—Ibid., p. 244.
Oustack.—Lederer, Discoveries, 1672, p. 17.
Westos.—Gallatin in Trans. and Colls. Am. Antiquarian Soc., 1836, vol. ii, p. 83.
Westoes.—Archdale (1707) in Ramsay, Hist. South Carolina, 1809, vol. i, p. 34, note.

Stonoes.—Ibid., p. 83.

Adusta.—De Bry, Brevis Narratio, 1591, vol. ii, map.
Audusta.—Laudonnière (1587) in Hakluyt, Voyages, 1600, vol. iii, p. 379.
Eddisto.—Map of the Province of South Carolina, 1760.
Edisto.—Bowen, Map of the British American plantations, 1760.
Edistow.—Harris, Voyages and Travels, 1705, vol. i, map.
Orista.—Fontanedo (1559) in Ternaux-Compans, Voyages, 1841, vol. xx, p. 10.
Oristanum.—Brigstock in French, Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 1875, vol. ii, p. 186, note.

Casor.—Document of 1675 in Mills, History of South Carolina, 1826, app., p. 1.
Coçao.—La Vandera (1579) in French, Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 1875, vol. ii, p. 290.
Coosah.—Adair, History of American Indians, 1775, p. 225.
Coosaw.—Mills, Statistics of South Carolina, 1826, map.
Cosah.—Ibid., p. 107.
Cozao.—La Vandera (1569) in French, Hist. Coll. Louisiana, 1875, vol. ii, p. 290.
Kissah.—Mills, op. cit., p. 107.
Kusco.—Moll, Map of Carolina, 1720 (misprint).
Kussoe.—Document of 1671 in Rivers, History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 372.

Chicora.—Fontanedo (1559) in Ternaux-Compans, Voyages, 1841, vol. xx, p. 16 (same?).
Corsaboys.—Document of 1719 in Rivers, History of South Carolina, 1874, p. 93.
Cusabees.—Rivers, History of South Carolina, 1856, p. 38.
Cusoboe.—Mills, Statistics of South Carolina, 1826, p. 107.
Cussobos.—Simms, History of South Carolina, 1860, p. 56.

Santee and Congaree rivers probably formed the approximate southern limit of the Siouan tribes of the east. There is no reason for assigning to this stock any tribes farther southward along the Atlantic coast. As the history of all these Indians is closely interwoven, however, a few notes on the remaining tribes of South Carolina between Santee and Savannah rivers may properly be introduced.

Cherokee.—The Cherokee tribe, of Iroquoian stock, occupied the territory of what are now the seven upper counties along the Savannah, extending down to the mouth of Broad river. Being a well-known

tribe, with an extensive territory embracing large portions of several present states, nothing more need be said of these Indians here.

Shawano.—Below the Cherokee territory on the Savannah there was an important band of the Shawano, locally known as Savannah Indians, of Algonquian stock, having their principal village nearly opposite Augusta. The river takes its name from the tribe. They moved northward into Pennsylvania about the year 1700.

Uchi.—Lower down on both sides of the Savannah were located the Uchi tribe, which constituted a distinct linguistic stock (Uchean). The remnant of the tribe are now incorporated with the Creek. They were probably identical with the "Cofitachiqui" of De Soto's chroniclers, a tribe whose village is supposed by the best authorities to have been located at the site of Silver Bluff, on the Savannah, in Barnwell county, South Carolina, about 25 miles by water below Augusta.

Saluda.—The territory of the Saluda Indians is marked on Jefferys' map of 1761, south of Saluda river, about the present Columbia, with a statement that they had removed to Conestoga in Pennsylvania. There seems to be no other original reference to this tribe. They may have been identical with the Assiwikale, who removed from South Carolina about 1700, and in 1731 were living with the Shawano partly on the Susquehanna and partly on the Alleghany.

Notchee.—The tribe called "Natchee," "Notchees," etc., in early documents, do not seem to have been native to South Carolina, but were probably identical with the Natchez of Mississippi. Although at first thought it might appear improbable that a tribe originally living on the Mississippi could afterward have been domiciled near the Savannah, it is no more impossible than that a Savannah tribe could have removed to the Susquehanna or to the Ohio, as was the case with the Shawano, or that a tribe on the Yadkin could have emigrated to Canada, as was the case with the Tutelo.

The Natchez, who lived originally on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, about the site of the present city of Natchez, became involved in a war with the French in 1729 which resulted in their complete destruction as a tribe in the following year. The remnant, disorganized, but still considerable in numbers, fled in different directions. A few crossed the Mississippi and were lost in the swamps of Louisiana; many took refuge with the Chickasaw, who thus drew down on themselves the anger of the French. A large body fled to the Creek tribe, among whom they have ever since retained a distinct existence, afterward removing with that tribe to Indian Territory. In 1799 their village on Coosa river in Alabama contained several hundred souls. Others, again, joined the Cherokee, and according to personal information of the author they had a distinct village and language on Valley river in western North Carolina about ninety years ago. As the Creek and Cherokee both bordered on Carolina, while the Chickasaw were in alliance with that government as against the French, it is easy to see how

people of a dismembered tribe scattered among these others could have found their way into that province. A body of the Chickasaw themselves at one time removed from the Mississippi and settled on the Savannah in South Carolina, in the neighborhood of the present Augusta; and according to Adair the South Carolina traders themselves instigated the rising of the Natchez, their message being conveyed to that tribe through the medium of the Chickasaw (Adair, 10). It was but natural, therefore, that the defeated and extirpated Natchez should turn to Carolina for support and shelter.

While all the other tribes of South Carolina hitherto noted or mentioned hereafter appear early in the history of that colony, the first notice of the Notchee did not appear until 1734, four or five years after the first Natchez war. In that year, it is related, a delegation of 26 "Natchee" Indians applied to the government of South Carolina for permission to settle their tribe on the Savannah (Rivers, anon., 1). By this time the old Natchez were probably already scattered among the Chickasaw and Creek and the Cherokee, those with the last-named tribe being settled in western North Carolina. Permission was evidently given, for in 1744 the "Notchees" are mentioned, in connection with the Pedee, as having killed some Catawba in a drunken quarrel, as a result of which the Notchee and Pedee had fled down to the white settlements to escape the vengeance of the Catawba, and the colonial government was compelled to interfere (Gregg, 9). In the preceding year the "Nachee" are mentioned as one of the tribes incorporated with the Catawba, but retaining their distinct dialect (Adair, 11). It is probable that the result of this quarrel was to separate the Notchee permanently from the Catawba and cause them to make their residence thereafter lower down among the settlements, in the neighborhood of the Pedee, as in 1751 the "Notchees," Pedee, and several others are named as tribes living in South Carolina among the settlements, and in whose behalf the colonial government effected a peace with the Iroquois (N. Y., 22). A few years later they seem to have moved up again and joined the Cherokee, for in 1755 they are twice mentioned as having been concerned with that tribe in killing some Pedee and Waccamaw among the white settlements (Gregg, 10). This appears to be the last reference to them in the South Carolina records.

Etiwaw.—The tribe known as Etiwaw or Eutaw lived about Ashley and Cooper rivers, in what is now Berkeley county, extending eastward about to the site of the present Monks Corner, where their hunting grounds bordered the Sewee country. The Santee and Congaree were above them (Rivers, anon., 2). Their memory is preserved in the name of Eutaw Springs or Eutawville. The tribal name is derived from the Catawba word *itawa*, "pine tree" (Gatschet). They were one of the small coast tribes collectively known as Cusabo, and were probably identical with the tribe sometimes mentioned as "Ashley River Indians." They were never prominent, and from their prox-

imity to the settlements soon dwindled into insignificance. In January, 1715, just before the Yamasi war, they had a single village with a population of 240 souls (Rivers, 3). They were probably much reduced by that war, and nothing more is heard of them until 1751, when they are mentioned as one of the small tribes for whom the South Carolina government made peace with the Iroquois (N. Y., 23).

Westo and Stono.—Lederer and other early observers refer to two tribes living between Ashley and Edisto rivers, known as the Westo and Stono, the latter probably occupying the coast along Stono river and inlet. From the nature of the references it is probable that both tribes extended some distance into the interior. They seem generally to have acted together, and were steadily hostile to the early South Carolina settlers. They were among the tribes collectively known as Cusabo. The Westo seem to be identical with the Hostaqua mentioned by Laudonnière about 1564, and with the Oustack of Lederer, described by him as being brave fighters, at war in 1670 with the Ushery (Catawba), who were separated from them by what he calls a lake, probably an overflow of the Santee (Lederer, 13).

The Westo and Stono made war on the settlements about Charleston in 1669–'71, and again in 1674, when a force of volunteers had to be raised against them (Gatschet, Legend, 2). In 1680 they became involved in a war with the Savannah (Shawano), by whom they were totally defeated and driven out of the country (Gallatin, 1). What became of them is unknown, but they may have gone southward into the Spanish territory of Florida, as did the Yamasi thirty-five years later.

Edisto.—A tribe appears to have occupied the country along the lower part of Edisto river, and their name is preserved in that of the river; but as the coast region was occupied in later times by small bands having local rather than tribal names it is impossible to locate them definitely. Their country is called the province of Orista by the early Spanish writers, and Audusta by Laudonnière. Edisto is the later English form. The Huguenots of Ribault's colony received a friendly welcome from them in 1562, and the Spaniards for some time had a mission among them. They are mentioned in connection with the Stono, Westo, and Savannah as still living in the same region when the English settlements were established in South Carolina in 1670. They disappear from history soon after, and may have been driven out of the country together with the Westo and Stono in the war waged against the last-named tribes by the Savannah in 1680.

Coosa.—Another tribe lived about the mouth of the Edisto or Combahee whose name, Cusso or Coosaw, is preserved in Coosaw and Coosawhatchee, streams entering the sea on either side of Saint Helena island. According to Rivers they lived northeast of Combahee river, which separated them from the Combahee tribe (Rivers, anon., 3). They appear to be identical with the Couexi of the Huguenot colonists

in 1562 and with the Coçao of La Vanderâ's Spanish narrative of 1569. They are noted as hostile to the English in 1671 (Rivers, anon., 4). In 1675 the chiefs of "great and lesser Casor" sold a tract lying on Kiawah, Stono, and Edisto rivers, and in 1684 there is a record of another sale of land by the chief of "Kissah" (Mills, 6). They are mentioned as "Kussoes" in the South Carolina trade regulations in 1707, and appear last under the name of "Coosah" as one of the tribes incorporated with the Catawba, but still preserving a distinct dialect in 1743 (Adair, 12). The name is identical with that of a leading division of the Creek, but this fact, or that of their final union with the Catawba, proves nothing as to their linguistic affinities. It is probable, however, that, like their neighbors, the Yamasi, they were of Muskhogean stock. If not, they may have been Uchean rather than cognate with the Catawba.

Cusabo.—The coast tribes between Ashley river and the Savannah were known collectively as Cusabo. The name was elastic in its application, and included the Etiwaw, Westo, Stono, Edisto, and Cusso, as well as smaller local bands immediately along the coast, among which were the Kiawaw, on Kiawah island; Combahee, on Combahee river; Wapoo, on Wapoo river; Wimbee (location not definitely ascertained), and Saint Helena Indians or Santa Elena of the old Spanish writers, on the island of that name. In its restricted sense the term was applied to these smaller bands which had less compact organization than those first named. Their territory is the Chicora of D'Ayllon and other early Spanish adventurers. This term Gatschet is disposed to derive from the Catawba *Yuchi-kĕré*, "Yuchi are there," or "Yuchi over there," which interpretation, if correct, would indicate that they were of Uchean stock. There is reason to believe that these early people of Chicora were practically exterminated by the raids of Spanish slavers or by later Muskhogean invaders, and that the coast tribes found in this region in the eighteenth century were of Muskhogean origin, allied to the Yamasi and Creek.

In January, 1715, the "Corsaboys," by which we are to understand the smaller local coast bands, were reported to have five villages with 295 souls. A few months later came the Yamasi war, the most terrible in the history of colonial South Carolina, resulting before the end of the year in the expulsion and "utter extirpation" of the Yamasi and several other tribes, including the Cusabo (Rivers, 4).

LOCAL NAMES FROM SIOUAN TRIBAL NAMES IN VIRGINIA AND CAROLINA.

CATAWBA. A river of North Carolina and South Carolina, known as the Wateree in its lower course, joining with the Congaree to form the Santee.
— A creek in Botetourt county, Virginia.
— A county of North Carolina.
— A town of Catawba county, North Carolina
— A town of Roanoke county, Virginia.
— A town of Marion county, West Virginia.
— Catawba Junction; a town in York county, South Carolina.
— Catawba Springs; a town in Lincoln county, North Carolina.
— Little Catawba or South Catawba; a tributary of the Catawba from the west, in North Carolina.
CONGAREE. A river in South Carolina, joining with the Wateree to form the Santee.
— A town in Orangeburg county, South Carolina; also a town in Richland county, South Carolina.
ENO. A river joining the Neuse in Durham county, North Carolina.
— Enoree; a river joining the Congaree from the west in South Carolina.
— Enno; a town in Wake county, North Carolina.
MONACAN. Manakin; a town in Goochland county, Virginia, 17 miles west of Richmond, and about the site of the ancient Monacan village.
OCCANEECHI. Occaneeche hills; south of Hillsboro and on opposite side of Eno river, in Orange county, North Carolina.
— Occoneechee; a township in Northampton county, North Carolina.
— Occanuchee; a neck or bend in Roanoke river, Northampton county, North Carolina.
PEDEE. A township in Montgomery county, North Carolina.
— A township in Georgetown county, South Carolina.
— A township in Marion county, South Carolina.
— Great Pedee; a river in South Carolina, known as the Yadkin in its upper course.
— Little Pedee; an eastern tributary of the Great Pedee in South Carolina.
SANTEE. A river in South Carolina, formed by the union of the Wateree and Congaree.
— A township in Clarendon county, South Carolina.
— A township in Georgetown county, South Carolina.
— Santee Hills; northeast of the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree, in Sumter county, South Carolina.
SAPONI. Sapona town; a district northeast of Roanoke river in Bertie county, North Carolina, on the site of a former Saponi village.
— Saponi; a creek flowing into Tar river, in Nash county, North Carolina.
— Sappony; a creek flowing into Nottoway river, in Dinwiddie and Sussex counties, Virginia.
SARA. Cheraw; a town in Chesterfield county, South Carolina.
— Cheraws; a former precinct of South Carolina, chiefly between Pedee and Wateree rivers, and including most of the present counties of Marlboro, Chesterfield, Lancaster, Kershaw, Darlington, and Sumter.
— Sauratown; a town on Dan river in Stokes county, North Carolina.

SHOCCOREE. Shocco; a township in Warren county, North Carolina.
— Shocco; a creek tributary to Fishing creek between Warren and Franklin counties, North Carolina.
— Shocco; a creek flowing into the James from the south at Richmond, in Chesterfield county, Virginia (the name in this case is probably of Algonquian origin).
— Shockoe Church; a village in Pittsylvania county, Virginia.
SISSIPAHAW. Haw; a river forming the upper part of Cape Fear river in North Carolina.
— Haw River; a town in Alamance county, North Carolina.
— Saxapahaw; a town in Alamance county, North Carolina.
SUGEREE. Sugar; a creek, tributary to Catawba river in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, and York county, South Carolina.
TUTELO. Totaro; a district south of Meherrin river in Brunswick county, Virginia.
— Tutelo Heights; a suburb of Brantford, on Grand river, Ontario (Canada), on the site of the former Tutelo village.
WACCAMAW. A river in North Carolina and South Carolina joining the Pedee near its mouth.
— A lake at the head of the river of the same name, in Columbus county, North Carolina.
— A town in Georgetown county, South Carolina.
— A township in Brunswick county, North Corolina.
— A township in Georgetown county, South Carolina.
WATEREE. A river in South Carolina uniting with the Congaree to form the Santee.
— A creek flowing into Wateree river from the west in Fairfield county, South Carolina.
— A town on the west bank of Wateree river in Richland county, South Carolina.
— A township in Kershaw county, South Carolina.
WAXHAW. A creek flowing into Catawba river in Lancaster county, South Carolina.
— A town in Union county, North Carolina.
— A town in Lancaster county, South Carolina.
— Wisacky; a town in Sumter county, South Carolina.
WINYAW. Winyah; a bay at the mouth of Pedee river in Georgetown county, South Carolina.

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ADDENDA

The following additional references to the population of the Carolina tribes are taken from Governor Johnson's "Table of Indian Nations" in January, 1715—three months before the outbreak of the Yamasi war—published on page 94 of Rivers' Early History of South Carolina. Owing to the author's absence in the field they were not inserted in the proper place: Catapaw (Catawba), seven villages, 1,470 souls; Saraw, one village, 510 souls; Cape Fear, five villages, 200 souls; Santee, two villages, and Congeree, one village, together numbering 125 souls; Weneaw (Winyaw), one village, 106 souls.